TOWARD AN EXPLANATORY MODEL OF MAPUCHE MOBILIZATIONS
UNDER THE CHILEAN MILITARY REGIME: 1973 - 1988

by

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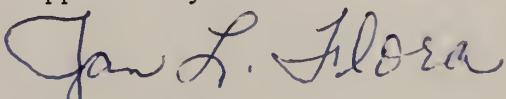
Major Professor

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To my parents, who always supported me.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

> We Mapuches constitute a people
> with our own culture and history,
> which makes us different from
> Chilean society. However, we live under
> a permanent, systematic, and official
> policy of domination. Nevertheless, our
> people have resisted heroically; today
> we are ready to continue struggling for
> our legitimate demands as an ethnic group
> (Ad-Mapu 1982, p. 1; my translation).

The above quotation from Ad-Mapu presents the view of a national Mapuche organization about the situation of its people. It presents the complexity of their claims before the state, mobilizations and internal mechanisms of self-identification and legitimation.

Throughout Chilean republican history, the so-called "Mapuche question" has always been present, despite the efforts made by the larger society and the state through its ideological apparatus to hide and minimize it. During the last 20 years, the Mapuches' long struggle has taken on new aspects.

Studying Mapuche mobilizations between 1973 and 1988 represents a threefold challenge. First, it requires a definition of the relationship between an ethnic movement and established political actors. Second, it requires a clarification of the relationship between ethnicity and class in the Mapuche situation. The two concepts cannot be viewed hierarchically, but as complex, crosscuting dimensions which are articulated in social praxis. Third, there is a methodological challenge, posed by the characteristics of the phenomenon under study.

Understanding this conflict requires one to approach it from the Mapuche organizations' presentations of the issues.

The objective of this thesis is to answer the following question: Why have Mapuches mobilized during some periods and not others during the military regime from 1973 to 1988?

This thesis will analyze Mapuche mobilizations as part of a complex and multidimensional process. The argument is that Mapuche mobilization can be understood by the interaction of three factors:

a) changes in the Chilean socio-political

system that resulted in changes in resource

availability,

b) characteristics of Mapuche organizational

process, and

c) internal definitions and varying types of

presentational strategies expressed by Mapuche

organizations throughout this time period.

A historical case study will analyze the interaction of these processes in the generation of mobilization and propose a tentative explanatory model of Mapuche mobilizations for the period. In this model, changes in the political system (with the consequent change in resources available for Mapuche mobilization) and the Mapuche organizational characteristics are articulated and mediated by the internal definitions of the group.

Reports of a local newspaper and public documents issued by Mapuche organizations will be analyzed in order to determine the

mobilization episodes during the period. Simultaneously, an analysis of those public documents will be done, in order to have a better understanding of how Mapuche organizations present themselves and the factors involved in this process. A review of other scholarly works dealing with these issues will be carried out.

The significance of this research is not only theoretical, as a contribution to a more comprehensive explanation of mobilization, but the study will also have political significance, since understanding the relationships between Mapuche organizations and other social sectors and classes would be helpful for the design of future policies.

This thesis analyzes Mapuche mobilizations within the sphere of other relevant social forces. It is not restricted to the characteristics of the movement itself, but open to the dynamics of changes in the global context of society, visualizing ethnic identity through its political-mobilization manifestations.

CHAPTER II: THE MAPUCHE CASE

The Mapuches, or "People of the Land", are the most numerous indigenous ethnic group in Chile. Although their exact population is unknown, various estimates (Ad-Mapu 1982; Duran 1985; Gacitua 1986) suggest around one million people, almost nine percent of the Chilean population in 1980. Approximately sixty percent of Mapuches are rural. Forty percent are urban, with highest concentrations in Santiago, Concepcion and Temuco. The rural Mapuche population is concentrated in the south central zone of Chile, and particularly in the province of Cautin, IX region.

Until the end of the Spanish rule, Mapuche people possessed a territory of almost 10 million hectares which was recognized by the Spanish Crown. With Chilean Independence, the new state started to consolidate its sovereignty by expanding its frontiers. It was not until the 1880s that this process was completed in the Mapuche territories, after a so-called "pacification campaign". Mapuches, finally, were confined to reservations scattered throughout their former lands. Since then, the land/inhabitant ratio has declined progressively from 6.1 ha/inhabitant in 1884 to 1.9 ha/inhabitant in 1963 to 0.8 ha/inhabitant in 1984 (Gacitua 1985, 1986).

Simultaneously, their "incorporation" into the national society began a process of proletarianization and exploitation, through the labor market and commercialization of their products, and through the usurpation of their remaining lands (Berdichewsky 1979). The Chilean state, by the imposition of various land-tenure laws, attempted to

break down the reservation system (Labbe 1956; Ormeno and Osses 1972; Quezada 1956), a process which was concluded at the end of the 1970s under the military regime.

During the last fifteen years several studies have been undertaken on indigenous movements and their ideology in Latin America, the United States, and Canada (Barre 1983; Berdichewsky 1986; Boldt and Long 1984a, 1984b; Cornell 1984; Hernandez 1985; Marroquin 1976; Turner 1979). These works have analyzed state ideology and policies toward indigenous groups, as well as the ideological basis for the development of Indian movements. By and large, they argue that with the advent of the republican era, initial colonization was replaced by a more subtle but equally effective type of domination (or internal colonialism) carried out through state policies

There is a significant and diverse literature about Mapuche people. However, review of this literature through the prism of the proposed intervening factors reveals that the different studies have analyzed one or another element of those discussed, but they have not articulated them into a model for explaining Mapuche mobilizations.

Studies analyzing Mapuche organizational processes have pointed out that since their military defeat and forced settlement in reservations in the 1880s, Mapuches reorganized themselves in light of their disadvantaged position within Chilean society. Mapuches were assigned an inferior status in Chilean society. They were discriminated against and economically exploited (Bengoa 1985; Berdichewsky 1979a; Berdichewsky and Vives 1970).

According to these studies, Mapuches generated a resistance culture, expressed through their social structure and specific social organizations, which represented their claims before Chilean society (Bengoa 1982a, 1982b). Along the same lines, Berdichewsky argues that

> [i]n order to preserve their culture, however modified, the function of group maintenance was given great importance, and it became a true resistance against the culture of the larger dominating society (1979a, p. 444).

Melville (1976), analyzing the nature of Mapuche social power, argued that Mapuche organizational processes are based upon an ideology of personal independence, which led to a fragmentary type of social organization.

> Mapuches ignore calls for a mystic or cultural brotherhood and for communal solidarity (Melville 1976, p. 132, my translation).

Bengoa (1982), studying peasant and Mapuche movements in Chile, emphasized that Mapuches, unlike Chilean peasants, have a clear consciousness based upon an ethnic solidarity. However, similarly to Melville, he argued that Mapuches organize themselves according to the requirements that each situation presents to them.

Further, Foerster (1982, 1983, 1984) argues for the existence of diverse ideologies among Mapuche organizations, where each one represents a specific type of leadership, which led to different relationships with the national society. In this process, Foerster (1983) identifies three elements contributing to the development of mobilization: a) land tenure, as a manifestation of interethnic conflict; b) the state, as an arbiter of this conflict; and c) the

Mapuches need for representation and self-presentation before the state.

Studies emphasizing socio-cultural aspects of Mapuche society have argued that the changes observed are the result of a complex process of transformation carried out by Mapuches to confront new situations. In other words, such changes represent the elaboration by Mapuches of the problems emerging from their relationships with Chilean society, rather than a mechanical response to interethnic contact. Mapuches responded to change by developing new social relations which maintained a common identification (Stuchlik 1970a, 1970b, 1974).

> The starting point is the problems generated by the inter-ethnic contact, rather than the inter-ethnic contact itself . . . Change is not an automatic adoption of new characteristics but a selective process (Stuchlik 1970, p. 80; my translation).

Other studies have stressed that Mapuche society changes following changes in policy and interventions of Chilean society (Molina and Lorca 1977; Palacios and Pinto 1964).

Duran (1986), in a study of changes in Mapuche identity, argues that Mapuches are an ethnic group with their own interpretative system, or world view, and their social organizations derives from that system. She differentiates four types of Mapuche identities over time, which might coexist in the same historic period and change according to the type of inter-ethnic relationship, the definitions of the group, and consciousness of the individuals:

> . . . the actors might display different types of actions, either reinforcing or changing the

content of their identity. But, in any case,
these changes would never erase ethnic identity as
an inter-group category (Duran 1986, p. 697; my
translation).

In analyzing the relation between class and ethnicity among
Mapuches, Cantoni (1978) argues that an internal contradiction exists.
The process of capitalist development contributes to the generation
of a double process of stratification, and a tension between class
and ethnic status results. Such divergence, for Cantoni, is inter-
preted by Mapuches as a result of ethnic discrimination rather than
their class position, distorting Mapuches' class consciousness.

From another point of view, Diaz (1984) argues that inter-ethnic
stratification occurs within a class context. For her, the inter-
ethnic dimension allows self-identification among Mapuches within the
Chilean society, while at the same time the economic dimension has
an impact on the position of the two groups (Mapuche and non-Mapuche),
as well as in the characteristics of their relationships. That phe-
nomenon, in turn, reaffirms Mapuche ethnic identity (Diaz 1984).

What differentiates class from inter-ethnic
relationships is that class identity tends to be
modified by economic change, while in inter-ethnic
relationships identity tends to be maintained
(Diaz 1984, p. 7)

In Chile, the 1960s represent a focusing on the peasant question
by the dominant sectors and the state, as a response both to the
internal and international political situation. Externally, the Al-
liance for Progress and reformist movements by the U.S. supported
policies directed toward peasants. Internally, the requirements for
an efficient agriculture, plus the initial involvement of the Catholic

Church in limited land reform experiences and the increasing support of urban worker activists created conditions for the expression of peasant demands.

In 1953, an independent Mapuche organization, the National Indigenous Association (Asociacion Nacional Indigena) started unifying various small Mapuche organizations (Bengoa 1982a). However, despite the progressive weakening of the conservative government of Alessandri (1958-1964), this organization was unable to create a real challenge to Chilean society (Foerster 1983, 1984).

In 1961 new legislation affecting indigenous land tenure was launched. It was designed to accelerate the process of Mapuche land division and consolidate their incorporation into the labor market, fostering Mapuche proletarianization (Saavedra 1971; Berglund 1977). However, it did not lead to a clear program of mobilization among Mapuches.

In 1964 the centrist forces won the elections and the Christian Democratic party of Eduardo Frei took power with initial strong popular support. Three years later a new agrarian reform bill was passed, creating the definitive conditions for peasant mobilization, due to the support granted through the legalization of the unions. The department of Indian Affairs (DASIN) was created, and several programs of technical assistance and credit provision were targeted to the Mapuche small producer sector (Saavedra, 1971). However, no specific policy toward Mapuches was elaborated, nor were solutions

to Mapuches' more urgent demands of land and education devised (Berglund 1977; Chonchol 1970).

By the end of this period, Mapuches created another national organization, the Federation of Mapuche Organizations (Confederacion de Organizaciones Mapuches). It constituted a complex network with a presence at the regional level. Emphasis was on rural organizations, but urban Mapuches organizations were included.

In 1970, Salvador Allende was elected president and a path toward socialism was initiated, fostering grassroots involvement in all dimensions of social life. Only a few months after the election, the National Federation of Mapuche Organizations convened a National Mapuche Congress, bringing together hundreds of representatives. A massive mobilization began: land take-overs and land recuperations occured continuously. After a few months, the central government was forced to temporarily move the Minister of Agriculture's head offices to the city of Temuco (Chonchol 1976).

The outcome of the Congress was a platform asking for special Indian legislation. This legislation, Mapuches claimed, should include, among other transformations, a system for restitution of those lands granted them under the original land grants (Titulos de Merced), special educational programs, mechanisms for greater Mapuche social participation, and many other programs aimed at improving Mapuche quality of life.

At the same time the new socialist government stressed agrarian reform, accelerating land distribution and promoting peasant organ-

izations at the local level through the development of Peasant Councils (Consejos Campesinos), which had control over the new collective units of production. However, political action of the peasant and Indian movement overwhelmed the established channels for participation. The formal Peasant Councils were unable to channel the demands and mobilization of Mapuches, and by 1972, parallel and independent peasant councils, composed largely of Mapuches, were created as a political instrument for popular participation and pressure on the government (Berdichewsky 1979; Berglund 1977; Chonchol 1977)

New indigenous legislation was approved by the Chilean Congress in 1972. It contained substantial modifications of the initial program elaborated by the Mapuche Congress. The changes reflected not only the ability of conservative sectors to impose their will (due to the power configuration in the National Congress), but also the predominance of a nation-state vision regarding the "indigenous problem" (Ormeno and Osses 1972). Nevertheless, in its short existence this legislation allowed the restitution of thousands of hectares of land and the creation of a specialized state organization, the Institute for Indigenous Development (IDI), which began questioning the predominant views on solutions to the "Indian problem" (Chonchol 1976).

Acute polarization of Chilean society led to an explosive social mobilization. Among the Mapuches these actions were extended and highly effective. Such actions included numerous land take-overs,

demonstrations and strikes. The overall objective of these mobilizations was to push for the deepening of the ongoing structural transformations, stressing the participation of Mapuches in the benefits of the agrarian reform.

These processes encouraged Mapuche proletarianization and contributed to the shaping of their class consciousness. According to Touraine (1974), the overall effect of these changes in Chilean society was the development of a strong class consciousness among all sectors. At the same time, they strengthened Mapuche distrust of Chilean society, fostering greater ethnic consciousness (Berdichewsky 1979a, 1979b; Berglund 1977; Molina y Lorca 1977). That distrust is explained by the limited access that Mapuches had in the decision making process, particularly regarding those issues in which they were directly involved, such as legislation related to agrarian reform, educational programs, etc.

However, all these dynamics were dramatically interrupted by the military coup d'etat in 1973, which repressed peasant sectors --and particularly Mapuche organizations-- with ruthless violence. A counter agrarian reform was initiated. New indigenous legislation was imposed in 1978, forcing division of Mapuches' communal lands. According to the legislation, the owners of the properties resulting from these divisions would no longer be considered "Mapuche Indians". By the same token, their lands no longer would be considered indigenous lands, nor protected as such (Ad-Mapu 1982; Chile 1979; Vives 1979). The regime, by decree, tried to legally eliminate

Mapuches as a ethnic group, creating the mechanisms for incorporating their lands into the market in a limited amount of time.

Despite the repressive social environment, the Mapuche response was immediate. With the initial support of the Catholic Church, and later on, of other non governmental institutions, a new organization, the Mapuche Cultural Centers (Centros Culturales Mapuche) was created. It began mobilizing people to defend their land and identity, reaching a substantial number of communities within the region. In 1981, Mapuche Cultural Centers became Ad-Mapu, a fully independent organization. Simultaneously, their participation in the opposition to the regimen was increasing. Since 1984, various Mapuche organizations have emerged with different assessments made by their leadership of the national political conjuncture and the best strategy to respond to it.

Finally, in 1986 the different organizations began to unify. New definitions were required for the initiation of a Mapuche historical project; that is, how Mapuche organizations defined their role and the position of Mapuche people in Chilean society.

In summary, Mapuche organizations have always represented Mapuche People's interests before national society. They have used multiple strategies for achieving this objective. Among these, mobilization had emerged at specific points in time. Different elements can be identified in the generation of these mobilizations. However, previous research has been partial, for it has analyzed one or another

of the elements involved, but not their articulation into a more
comprehensive model.

CHAPTER III: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR MOBILIZATION

Mobilization is defined as the process whereby a social group attempts, in an organized way, to generate changes in the current structures according to its interests and definitions, which are articulated into a purposive model, which is in opposition to those of the dominant groups (Tilly 1978, 1981b, 1985; Touraine 1985).

Mobilization is a complex phenomenon related to social and cultural change (Killian 1964, p. 427). It involves various processes at the individual, collective, structural and symbolic levels (Willson and Orum 1976, p. 188). Mobilization is situational. It changes significantly from one historical setting to another (Tilly 1981a). The various definitions, conceptions, interests, strategies and organizational structures that different social groups have, as well as the changing power equations among these groups and their differential access to resources, modify the expressions of mobilization (Tilly 1978).

Structure, Rationality and Resources

Mobilization and social movements can be viewed as phenomena related to socio-political structures and unequal power distribution among different social actors (Jenkins and Perrow 1977; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Tilly 1978). This approach emphasizes that mobilization should be explained in relation to the resources available for mobilization and the pre-existing organizational structures (Fox and

Cloward 1977; Jenkins 1981, 1985; Jenkins and Perrow 1977; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Tilly 1978).

> Central to this perspective is the agreggation of
> resources necessary for engagement in social
> conflict (McCarthy and Zald 1977, p. 1216)

Mobilization is conceived by these scholars as a rational-utilitarian response of the groups to changes in the resource structure. Given power inequalities, the availability of resources for the oppressed groups determines the emergence of mobilization.

The analysis elaborated by resource mobilization theorists allows the recognition of the rationale of each movement, its political dimension and its particular relation to external resources, which provide the support necessary for the development of mobilization. However, as Cohen (1985, p. 674) argues, resource mobilization theorists address mobilization "from the standpoint of neoutilitarian logic imputed to collective actors", failing to recognize the role that social structures have in the determination of the resource structure, or why an increase in resources exists. McAdam (1982) argues that resource mobilization does not explain why those resources will be used for mobilization, nor does it explore the internal characteristics of the insurgent base.

> The basic point is that resources do not dictate
> their use, people do (Mc Adam 1982, p. 21)

The Organizational Process

The works of McAdam (1982) and Tilly (1973, 1981b, 1985) help to overcome (at least partially) the above difficulties by incorporating into their analysis the interactions among members of the group, its internal characteristics, the relations between groups, and the structural dimension. Tilly argues for the necessity of incorporating the interaction among individuals into the analysis.

> In order to convert such a model of rational action into a model of rational interaction, we make the expected benefits and costs . . . for each actor depend on the actions of other actors . . . (1985, p.742)

A process of communication and sharing of meanings among the participants is required. A common conceptualization of the social structures and an understanding of the social world which emerges from the groups' collective project become critical (Young 1971).

Although this last explanation expands the understanding of mobilization by recognizing the need for a cognitive process to articulate the structural dimension and the group characteristics, it does not fully take into account the constitution of the group as a historical actor, with a particular identity and solidarity which enter in contradiction with other social forces (Gamson 1975; Touraine 1981; Young 1971).

In conjunction with structural level changes, the availability of resources, and organizational characteristics, a process of internal definitions and group identity formation is required.

Identity and Self-Presentation

A third set of concepts that should be considered for the formulation of an integrative framework are those emphasized by New Social Movements sociologists. Alain Touraine (1981, 1982, 1985), among others, articulates into a structural analysis the dimensions of consciousness, perception/identity, and the "other" against which self-identity is created (Eyerman, 1984).

This framework allows not only the recognition of the subjective dimension, but it expands and articulates it into a theoretical model that links the social construction of reality to structural conflicts. It also overcomes the limitation of conceptualizing human behavior as simple reflexive responses to structural changes. For Touraine, this approach

> can penetrate to the heart of historicity, since it
> never escapes wholly from class conflicts and never
> glides above social relations (Touraine 1981,p. 61)

For the purpose of this thesis, the concept of identity will be approached through the notion of self-presentation of the actors (organized groups) in their contextual reality. That approach is based upon Goffman's elaborations of individual presentation of self and particularly on his Frame Analysis (Goffman 1974), in which he links the initial individualistic position with a social frame. In this analysis Goffman (1974) proposes there is a primary social reality which exists prior to the definitions of the actors. Collins

argues that Goffman's analysis "is designed to avoid complete relativism, but showing multiple realities" (1988, p. 29).

Within this perspective, organizational activities acquire particular importance since they allow the individuals to act upon a primary framework.

Identity can be projected through group self-presentation as strategies for action and survival (Manning 1971, 1982). These strategies does not exist in a vacuum but in a particular political and economic context, and they are targeted to specific audiences. These definitions and emergent strategies are crucial because they identify the positions of different actors in a conflict, establishing value orientations and suggestions for action.

Within this context, ethnicity should be analyzed as a specific manifestation of identity and self-presentation strategies, which can contribute to the development of mobilization in particular contexts.

A Changing Ethnicity

Ethnic identity is a source of conflict and mobilization in modern nation-states. Assimilation is not always the only possible outcome of modernization and deepening capitalist contradictions (Burawoy 1978; Davis 1978; Gordon 1976; Hannan 1979; Hraba and Hoiberg 1983; Newman 1976; Smith 1983; Wallerstein 1976; Yinger 1985). An alternative to assimilation occurs when ethnic groups seek the status of "peoplehood", nationhood or any other form of self-determination and autonomy, and manifest their political willingness to achieve their

objectives by generating an ethnic movement.   Under such conditions

ethnic groups seek collective solutions to their problems by estab-

lishing a collective identity.

> Their goal is liberation through the search for
> meaning and identity (Dashefsky 1976, p.199).

In this approach, ethnicity in modern nation-states relates to

the changing character of society.   Interethnic relationships are

manifested through ethnic mobilization (Nagel 1984; Nagel and Olzak

1982; Olzak 1983).   In fact, Nagel argues that

> This new vision of ethnicity emphasizes the
> emergent qualities of ethnic identity and
> organization, arguing that ethnic boundaries among
> a population are likely to be strengthened rather
> than diminished by economic and political processes
> underway in modern states (Nagel 1984, p.419).

Ethnic identity not only emerges from processes of identification

and ascription, but from the political capacity of the group to forge

its identity through collective action.

> Ethnicity, furthermore, is not only a matter of
> revised collective identity.   An ethnic group is
> also characterized by a degree of political action
> and organization.   Indeed, I am defining an ethnic
> group as a politically mobilized collectivity whose
> members share a perceived distinctive self identity
> (Ross 1982, p.451).

Ethnic groups organize themselves around some contextual,

diacritical variables. The type of identity or presentation strategy

the group utilizes for the advancement of its objectives is related

to the changing social conditions. The social conditions for ethnic

mobilization have to be collectively perceived and defined as effec-

tive in order to be historically operative.

The heart of this conceptualization is the
proposition that ethnicity is only one form of
collective identity (Ross 1982, p. 443).

Class and Ethnicity

The relation between class and ethnicity needs to be addressed
in light of the problem of multiple identities. Ethnic identity
provides one possible set of definitions, while social class provides
another.

Following McKay (1982) and particularly Ross (1982), it is pos-
sible to argue that class and ethnicity are collective identities
which can be interrelated according to the group's contextual defi-
nitions.

When communal and minority groups choose to eschew
an ethnic identity for that of class, religion,
etc., they do not permanently give up the ethnic
option. If these alternate collective identities
prove to be unsatisfying or if social and political
conditions change, they can usually remobilize
their resources in an ethnic manner
(Ross 1982, p. 452).

Class and ethnicity cannot be juxtaposed as mutually exclusive
categories, nor placed in an a priori hierarchy, because social sub-
jects (i.e. the social bearers of specific identities and ideologies)
cannot be conceptualized at a single societal level (Laclau 1985;
Laclau and Mouffe 1985). In fact, there a multiplicity of po-
tential identities which are in constant play without eliminating one
another (Evers 1984; Laclau 1985; Laclau and Mouffe 1985; Ribeira
1984).

This thesis focuses on the possible articulations between ethnicity and class in a specific social formation and how they interact in the generation of mobilization. Ethnicity, within this framework, is not an isolated and abstract identity, but forms the basis for a program of political action which can be advanced through different types of mobilization strategies. Particularly when the ethnic group corresponds to a largely homogeneous social segment, the meanings emerging from both class and ethnicity might converge, be appropriated, or transformed from one to another, creating the basis for a common struggle (Steimberg 1989).

Towards a Synthesis

Figure 1 represents an exploratory model summarizing the characteristics of mobilization. Socio-political structure determines different power equations among groups. Power relations and changes in the socio-political system are translated into resource distribution. In turn, changes in resource availability have an impact upon the organizational capacity of the different groups within the system, either making resources available for mobilization or removing them from the organization's control.

Internal definitions should be understood as those statements expressing the meaning that any social phenomena have for the organization. The meaning that ongoing structural changes and resources have for the group constitute an assessment of the achievement of the objectives the organization has defined as essential, as well as of

the cost involved in achieving them.   These definitions have a
dialectical character since they are explaining some social phenomenon
and they are modified by it.   They express the group's presentation
strategies. From these definitions two different paths might emerge:
1) the absence of mobilization; or 2) the emergence of mobilization.

Figure 1:   The Mobilization Process
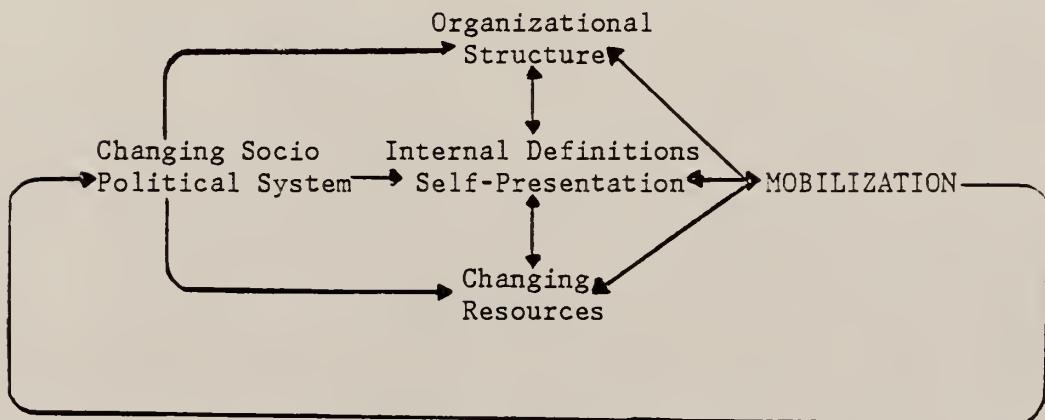
Only when the general conditions and the definitions the actors
make about the conjuncture (i.e., a combination of events or critical
set of circumstances) create conditions for the unfolding of
mobilization strategies, will mobilization occurs.   In other words,
the conjuncture must have a collective meaning which emerges from the
social perception the group has about the ongoing changes.

    For this model, changes in the socio-political environment have
impact on the growth of mobilization through the release or withdrawal
of resources that can be used by a group for the advance of their

objectives. Nevertheless, a central element for the articulation of those resources in a program of action and in the development of mobilization is the involvement and interpretation that the group makes of the socio-economic and political context.

The members of this collective would not be able to use the existing resources/conditions if they did not identify themselves as an organized group (through self-presentation) and engage in political action. Mobilization is grounded in the reinterpretation the organization makes of its socio-historical reality and its projection of itself into the political arena.

If mobilization does occur, there is an impact upon the social structure. A possible change in power relations arises, leading either to renewed social control by the dominant group, or to restructuring of power to include the mobilized group (or part of it). Alternatively, a total transformation of the power structure might occur. Any of these situations would generate a new definition of the group and, thus, of its strategies.

In conclusion, multiple elements intervene in the generation of mobilization, and each one of the theories previously discussed contributes to the understanding of this complex phenomenon. In this particular case it is postulated that mobilization is influenced by the interaction between the ongoing changes in Chilean socio-political system, Mapuche organizational structure, changing resource availability, and the internal definitions that Mapuche organizations make about those processes.

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGY

The nature of the research question, as well as the character-istics of the process to be studied, call for a historical case study analysis. Empirical examination of the proposed explanatory model of Mapuche mobilization during the period 1973 - 1988 requires an understanding and assessment of different elements.   It is only through a case study analysis of the processes involved in the gen-eration of Mapuche mobilization that a justifiable interpretation can be advanced (Thompson 1987), and a sociological explanation can be derived able to "penetrate the subjective word of concepts, experi-ences and reactions" (Denzin 1978, p. 215).

For Denzin (1978, p. 240) "the historical method attempts to col-lect, record, and analyze documents from the past and to weave these documents into a meaningful set of explanations".   However, this methodological approach presents various problems and limitations which demand special attention and treatment during the research process in order to arrive at articulated and relevant propositions.

A critical methodological question is the gap that exists between the researcher and the actual historical occurrences.   This issue has two complementary sides.   On the one hand is the spatio-temporal separation that exists between the researcher and the subjects, so that the knowledge about them is necessarily mediated.   On the other hand is the

> [t]emptation to collapse the distinction between
> observer and actor and become present minded . . .

defined as reading the evidence in terms of ones
own time, instead of postulated past time"
(Harting 1981, p.8).

Also, there is another gap of particular importance for this
thesis, that between the written history or pronouncements of the
organizations (i.e. their documents), and the views and definitions
of the followers (that the organization intends to represent).

It is for this reason that this thesis restricts its analysis to
the definitions and self-presentation strategies of Mapuche organ-
izations as expressed in their public documents. No claim is make
in this thesis that such definitions and views are necessarily the
ones of individual Mapuches, but only the self-presentation of their
organizations.

The greater difficulty and challenge of historical case study lies
in the distance between researcher and subject and the danger of im-
posing present hegemonic interpretations of the phenomena. History
reflects the permanent tension between dominant principles and
paradigms and those struggling to become hegemonic. Knowledge is
linked to human praxis, "and how people know and see the world is
affected by their particular location in the social structure"
(Millman and Kanter 1987, p.30).

The problem is double. First is the omission from the analysis
of the multiple crosscuting dimensions of social reality. Second,
and more important, is the imposition of one type of knowledge as the
only one that is able to approach "the truth". Within such a
framework, knowledge is generated according to the process accepted

by the dominant paradigm: in simple words, a type of knowledge that reflects one specific social position (Smith 1987).

Historical analysis should help to read each historical phenomenon from the point of view of those that have always been acted upon and defined by others. Historical analysis should be useful for the understanding and transformation of specific social realities. In other words, it is necessary to subvert history (Gutierrez 1979). History is conflictual and that is the very reason why it is necessary to take this position.

By taking this methodological position it is possible to incorporate into the analysis the unequal power distribution existing in social relations (Thompson 1987). Further, it is possible to argue that this approach facilitates the explanation and transformation of ongoing social processes, recognizing the role that previous definitions of the dominant theoretical framework have had in the process of controlling social change.

From the above, the critical challenge that should be faced is to redefine the categories and strategies of analysis so as to express the conceptualizations of oppressed sectors, because

> [t]he standpoint of the oppressed represents an achievement both of science (analysis) and political struggle on the basis of which this analysis can be conducted (Hartsock 1987, p. 162).

It is necessary to approach the conceptualizations expressed at the discursive level (in this case the Mapuche documents) through concrete manifestations (the mobilizations). Such a process will

offer explicit criteria for discovering the contradictions present
in that context.

Discourse is a formulation in which a constellation of meanings
are articulated into a unique body, and its meaning is referred to a
particular event (Ricoeur 1976). It implies a dialogical
distanciation from the event, which in the case of written discourse
is open to interpretation (Thompson 1981).

The analysis of written discourse requires the creation of mean-
ingful methods for establishing the necessary relationships between
the phenomena, the political/structural dimension, and the defi-
nitions the organizations make of these processes.

> We therefore have to reformulate our first
> criterion --discourse as event-- in a more
> dialectical way in order to take into account the
> relation which constitutes discourse as such, the
> relation between event and meaning (Ricoeur 1976,
> p. 9).

According to Pecheux (1982, 1984) discourse analysis allows us
to recognize the position that different social actors have in the
social structure, as well as their ideological framework because
discourse does not reflect an isolated individual position, but a
social and ideological position. In this case it is useful in dis-
cerning the position of Mapuche organizations.

According to Woods (1977, p. 57-8), a method like this is partic-
ularly useful when the texts in question have been produced in "dis-
tinct and identifiable political-ideological conjunctures", because
the speakers "are capable of producing different types of discourse

dependent on their audience and on their political understanding of the tactical effects of their speech".

It is the interaction of specific texts (meanings) with particular conjunctures that presents the meanings of the text. In fact, Halliday (1978, p. 139) argues that the text is a continuous process in relation to its context, "each part serving in turn as environment for the next".

Words can change their meaning according to the different context in which they are articulated. Moreover, their meaning is completely understood only in opposition to another's words (meanings). That is, each class, or subject position, utilizes language in the construction of discursive formations which represent its ideological struggle (Halliday 1978; Pecheux 1982; Woods 1977).

It is within this context that the problem of the gap between the speaker (in this case the Mapuche organizations) and its audience, as well as between the text and the researcher, should be recalled. Ricoeur (1976), in discussing the relationship between explanation and understanding of a text, states that the above problem is almost "unavoidable", yet he offers some hints for moving from "guessing" to "explaining". He proposes that the meaning of the text has to be understood as a whole. This is a cumulative process, where all the interconnections should be established to understand how the meaning of one concept might affect the meaning of others.

Methods

This thesis attempts to elaborate an explanatory model for Mapuche mobilizations during the period between 1973 and 1988. Mapuche mobilizations will be explained by the interplay of three main processes: 1) changes in the national socio-political environment; 2) changes in the organizational structure/characteristics of Mapuche organizations; 3) the definitions that Mapuche organizations make in regard to the ongoing changes in the socio-political structure, as indicated by their public self-presentation.

Mapuche mobilizations are defined as those events in which organized groups of Mapuches carry out actions aimed at furthering their group interests. These actions imply a confrontation with the Chilean society, which may be overt, through clashes with state/government officials, social organizations or private individuals. Or the confrontations may be more subtle through symbolic and ideological questioning of the dominant formulations made by Chilean society of Mapuche issues.

The group should be organized. Actions should have a group-defined objective. They should be identified or articulated as part of of a broader collective action called for by an organization. The subordinated group should perceive mobilization as an instrument of political struggle.

The term resources is defined here as any means that can be used by a group in support of their own objectives. Thus, resources may be human, material, cultural, political, or symbolic. They could be

internal to the group (i.e. the group already possesses them, or does not need to rely upon external sources to get them), or they could be provided from the outside (i.e. when the group lacks them and necessarily has to rely upon outsiders to acquire them).

Resources can be mobilized in two different and complementary ways. First, they can be used for achieving power by gaining control over other resources. Second, resources can also be withdrawn by the group to undermine the dominant authority. Two examples of this last type of mobilization are civil disobedience and active non-violence.

Mobilization is situational, in that it depends on a particular constellation of events. In different settings and periods, mobilization might acquire different characteristics, reflecting the context in which it evolves (Tilly 1981b).

For this thesis, four types of events are defined as mobilization during the period under study.

1) Public meetings held by Mapuches organizations with the objective of discussing and/or presenting particular issues relevant for the definition and projection of a Mapuche historical project and identity. This category includes a) national congresses, which mobilize people from different communities and sectors; b) cultural events aimed at furthering Mapuche culture and identity; c) meetings with Chilean institutional authorities, in which Mapuches make demands and articulate platforms. Regular (administrative) meetings are not considered, unless they evolve into another type of mobilization.

2) Public demonstrations of organized Mapuche groups with the political objective of expressing and exerting public pressure upon Chilean institutional authorities to modify policy. These events should attract the attention of the public (other than the participants) and/or mass media, so that the action is at least regionally recognized. This category includes a) overt demonstrations both in urban and rural areas; b)public campaigns; c) public ceremonies to pay homage to some Mapuche leader(s) and/or symbol(s); d) marches

3) Takeovers or seizures of lands and/or properties, public or private which challenge the nation-state's institutional authority. Events conducted by Mapuches falling into this category include: a) taking over former communal lands, or lands in dispute; b) obstruction of public roads; c) seizure of buildings and public offices.

4) Clashes between Mapuche groups and non-Mapuches (such as police forces, governmental officers, land owner groups, etc.). The result of such clashes might include arrests, and/or wounding or killing participants. The actions could be initiated by Mapuches or non-Mapuches. However, it should involve at least the action of an organized group of Mapuches confronting elements representing the Chilean authority or society.

Obviously, the boundaries between these categories are fragile and not absolute, since one event might evolve into another category (i.e., a public demonstration that clashes with repressive forces). Nevertheless, for a clear methodological account of these events, each one will constitute a unit; unless, as Tilly (1978) and Jenkins and

Perrow (1977) discuss, they are part of a related sequence of actions defined by a specific geographic space, time, and group involved, in which case the sequence should be considered as a unit, to be added to the other events that might exist within the same period.

The rationale for this option is that mobilization is a relational phenomena aimed at changing a situation. Thus it is dynamic. It is designed as an instrument to interact with and modify the actions of other social groups, in order to change specific social conditions.

Changes in the socio-political environment are conceptualized as transformations in the institutional/political framework of the Chilean society. These are changes that generate a different power relationship between the various social sectors and classes of Chilean society. Such power shifts includes changes in the availability of resources for different groups.

Shifts in the socio-political environment will be indicated by changes in government policy and its discourse about the Mapuche question as indicated by changes in legislation. Another set of indicators comes from changes in the political arena, as indicated by the actions of different socio-political actors. Finally, shifts in the position of other national social movements and institutions in relation to Mapuche organizations will be examined. Such indicators include the formation or dissolution of socio-political networks which include Mapuches, and which indicate the gain or loss of allies and access to resources.

The organizational characteristics of the group, as discussed previously, relate to the capacity of the group for organizational reproduction, development, and timely mobilization of resources (McCarthy and Zald 1978). Changes in organizational characteristics will be indicated by 1) the existence of a complex of formal base committees and various organizational departments articulated into a central structure); 2) the existence of permanent cadres working within the organization; 3) the type of members (women, students, urban dwellers, etc.); 4) the overall number of Mapuche organizations; 5) the existence of regional/national Mapuche organizational networks.

As identity cannot be approached directly with the data available for this thesis, organizational self-presentation will be used as a substitute concept.

Mapuche organizational self-presentation is the process whereby the organizations frame their objectives and identity into a historical project through the presentation of what are believed to be viable strategies. Such projects are aimed at increasing group consciousness or awareness of the group about its position within society, and at defining conflicting areas in which particular issues should be fought.

According to the methodological framework stated at the beginning of this section, this process will be analyzed through the definitions, stated in public documents, that Mapuche organizations develop regarding themselves, their objectives, relations with the

larger society, and conceptualization of the historical period. In the analysis of these documents, a combined and simplified approach of discourse and content analysis will be used (Holsti 1969; Krippendorf 1980; Pecheux 1982).

Mapuche organizations' discourse will be analyzed through written documents addressed to a wide and diverse audience, beyond the organizations and Mapuche people themselves. Four different type of documents can be distinguished: 1) documents written by the national directors of the organizations as the result of internal discussion about policy issues and/or assessment of their actions; 2) public statements issued to address some particular problem; 3) documents written by the local chapters of the organization, stating their points of view; 4) periodical documents aimed to link the different local chapters of the organization and diffuse the organizations' discourse.

For the elaboration and analysis of Mapuche discourse, specific "marker constructs" will be traced throughout public documents issued by Mapuche organizations, to reconstruct Mapuche discourse about mobilization.

Marker constructs are indicators of the discourse's contents. According to Krippendorf (1980, p. 99) they "operationalize what the analyst knows about the interdependencies between data and context". However, these categories are not imposed upon the text, but emerge from it. For Krippendorf (1980, p. 99) they "should have some empirical base as a measure of context sensitivity".

Seven marker constructs will be traced: 1) Identity/Self-Presentation as an expression of the conceptualizations and definitions that Mapuche organizations have of Mapuche people; 2) Organization, reflecting the definitions Mapuche organizations have about themselves and their structure and role in society; 3) Class-Consciousness in order to visualize the understanding that Mapuche organizations have about the relationship of class and ethnicity; 4) Historical project, as a manifestation of the long run objectives and conceptualizations of Mapuche organizations in their relationship with the Chilean society (or sectors of it), and their position within it; 5) Allies, as an indicator of the existing relationships with other social sectors, as well as a reflection of Mapuches' strategic positions; 6) Government/State, as an indicator of the conceptualization Mapuche organizations have about their relation with the institutional dimension; 7) Mobilization as an indicator of how Mapuche organizations define this process, as well as an approximation to the actual mobilizations that did occur during the period in question.

Data Collection and Analysis

Three main sources of information will be used: 1) A regional daily newspaper, "El Austral" (Temuco), which has regional coverage; 2) A set of all available public documents issued by Mapuches organizations; 3) Secondary data from available scholarly publications

dealing with the issues under study, and other available documents issued by social organizations related to Mapuche organizations.

Information about mobilization events will be drawn from newspaper reports and from documents issued by Mapuche organizations. Mapuche discourse will be elaborated primarily from original Mapuche documents, complemented with newspaper reports. Finally, changes in the Chilean society will be studied through the analysis of all three data bases.

The newspaper information was registered and standardized in card files (see newspaper card file in Appendix 1) where all relevant information about the event is summarized. The information emerging from the analysis of Mapuche documents was registered in another type of card file (see document card file in Appendix 2) containing the construct/marker in question, its context, organization, type of document where found, definitions attached and concepts involved.

The analysis of the interrelations among the three proposed processes affecting the emergence of mobilization will be done on a yearly basis, focusing upon the mobilization peaks. The analysis will articulate these elements according to the proposed model for mobilization.

A small sample "t" test of a population mean will be conducted in order to assess the significance of any frequency of mobilizations which deviate from the population mean frequency. The significance level will be set at $P < .05$.

Research Reliability-Validity

Following Kidder and Judd (1986), reliability is the extent to
which any experiment, test, or measurement instrument (procedure)
yields consistently correlated results in repeated trials, and va-
lidity is the extent to which some measuring device approachs what
it is supposed to represent. A measurement procedure is reliable when
it yields consistent results in successive tests, and it is valid when
it in fact measures the abstract concept that it represents.

Reliability, according to Carmines and Zeller (1982) is basically
an empirical issue, while validity is more theoretically oriented
since it is related to the development of concepts and appropriate
indicators.

Previous to the discussion of the specific ways for assessing
reliability and validity in this thesis, a necessary contextualization
of the methods to be used should be presented.

In the Mapuche case, other studies dealing with organization,
mobilization and identity have used similar procedures. Bengoa (1982a)
and Foster (1983) utilized newspaper reports and Mapuches' public
documents in describing both the organizational development and agenda
of Mapuche/peasant movements. Similarly, in the analysis of Mapuche
identity, Duran (1986) and Arrue (1989, personal communication from
her forthcoming Ph.D dissertation) combined personal interviews with
the analysis of written texts, as a way to articulate the different
concepts involved in the personal interviews. The use of newspaper
data to analyze conflict and mobilization events is discussed by

Danzger (1975) and Synder and Kelly (1977). They argue that newspaper reports have an acceptable level of reliability for obtaining an account of mobilization events. However, Schiff (1988), analyzing ideology in newspapers, cautions that newspaper reports should be triangulated in order to control for the ideological agendas they might have, in order to increase their potential reliability.

For assessing the reliability of the procedures utilized in this thesis a variation of the Retest Method (Carmines and Zeller 1982) was used. For this, a purposive sample of newspaper events and Mapuche documents were coded by another trained coder, applying the same criteria as the ones for the original files. This procedure, although imperfect, offers an estimation of the reliability of the methods used. The test yielded a result of $r = .873$ for the newspaper intercoder reliability and $r = .720$ for Mapuche documents.

Content (face) and construct validity will be used to assess validity. For this case, it is argued, face validity (the extent that an empirical indicator really reflects a particular or specific domain of the concept) is strong. The concepts utilized are approached through the very definitions that Mapuche organizations present in their documents (which have face validity in themselves). Also, the fact that they will be approached from multiple dimensions gives to the definition of the concepts further face validity, since variations in their conceptualizations could be detected. However, validity problems might exist for the use of newspaper reports for reconstructing Mapuche discourse, due to the censorship existing in

Chile. For the identification of mobilizations this problem becomes more difficult, and it will be controlled through the mobilizations recorded by Mapuche documents.

A second way to assess validity is construct validity, which is concerned with the extent that different concept-measurement pairs can be discriminated as different. This type of validity is based upon previous research using similar constructs and theoretical models. It involves "an effort to logically derive from the generalizations the particular propositions, including the analytical procedures used" (Krippendorf 1980, p. 168).

A way to assess construct validity in this case is by examining the theoretical framework to which the concepts are related. The works of Tilly (1978) and McAdam (1982) indicate that the indicators used in this thesis are associated with the concepts involved in the model, and have been effective in different working hypotheses. However, although the concepts and indicators of mobilization utilized in this thesis are potentially valid, still there is a potential problem of validity for the meaning of mobilization.

It is important to highlight that the method used for gathering of information was proved to be reliable. Threats to reliability are more possible in the coding of the documents than in the case of newspapers. Careful definitions and operationalizations are required. In classifying mobilization events the possible evolution from one type of event into another, should be taken into account. This is extremely important for the differentiation of the strategies

involved. A high level of expertise is required for the coding pro-
cedure and, if coders others than the researcher are going to be used,
they should to be prepared in order to avoid those problems. In this
case the author did all the coding himself.

The methodological approach of this thesis was to analyze, from
a socio-historic perspective, the interaction of various elements
contributing to the generation of Mapuche mobilizations. Documents
issued by Mapuche organizations and newspaper reports of Mapuche
events were analyzed in order to incorporate the definitions elabo-
rated by Mapuche organizations into the context of the ongoing changes
in the Chilean socio-political system.

CHAPTER V: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section elaborates the initial question, Why have Mapuches mobilized during 1973 - 1988? This is accomplished through analysis of the specific mobilizations that did occur, assessing if the proposed factors are articulated, following the theoretical model previously presented.   It is argued that mobilization peaks can be explained by the interaction of three factors: a) changes in the Chilean socio-political system; b) the characteristics of Mapuche organizational process, and c) the internal definitions and presentation strategies expressed by the organizations.

Mobilization Events

The four indicator events for mobilization were recorded from the newspaper El Austral (Temuco) during the period January 2, 1973 (LVII, 20,580) to December 31, 1988 (LXXIII, 26,404), and from all the available public documents issued by Mapuche organizations. A total of 139 documents from 11 organizations, from September 1978 to December 1988, were coded. No documents from January to September 11, 1973 were available, and for the period between September 1973 and September 1978 only two documents were found.

The total number of mobilizations for each year was obtained by adding all the events recorded from newspaper reports and documents in each category for that year (see Table 1).

Table 1: Mobilization Events by Type, Year and
Documentary Source, 1973 - 1988.

Year	Total		Meetings		Clashes		Demon.	Seizures	Other
	NP	NP+D	NP	NP+D	NP	NP+D	NP=D	NP=D	NP=D
1973	17	17	6	6	3	3	4	4	-
1974	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1975	2	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
1976	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-
1977	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1978	3	8	3	8	-	-	-	-	-
1979	14	21	7	9	2	7	5	-	-
1980	11	15	4	5	-	3	7	-	-
1981	8	11	3	5	1	2	4	-	-
1982	7	9	3	3	2	2	2	-	-
1983	14	16	5	5	4	6	5	-	-
1984	27	29	7	7	9	11	10	1	-
1985	9	10	3	3	2	3	2	2	-
1986	17	19	4	5	5	6	6	2	-
1987	18	21	7	7	2	5	7	2	-
1988	13	16	4	5	1	3	8	-	-
Total	163	195	58	70	31	51	60	11	1

Source: El Austral (Temuco) 1973 - 1988
Mapuche Organizations Documents.

NP: Newspaper reports
D : Mapuche documents

Figure 2: Total mobilization per year, 1973 - 1988.

Source:	El Austral (Temuco) *———*
	Mapuche Documents * ..... *
Note:	Peaks of 1979, 1984 and 1987 are significantly different from the mean (p<.05).
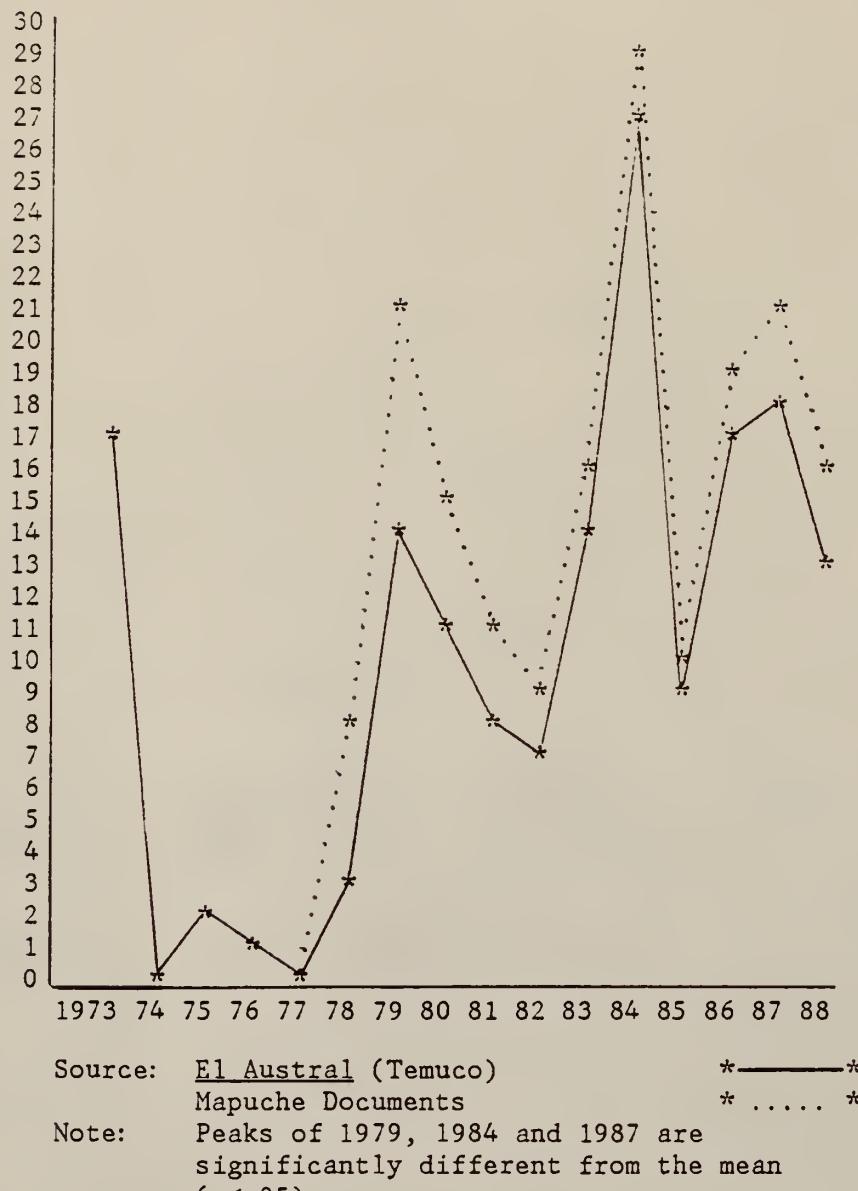
The distribution of these events is depicted in Figure 2, where

three different peaks, 1979, 1984 and 1987 can be identified, with a

difference from the mean significant at the .05 level.

The continuous line in Figure 2 depicts the mobilization events recorded only from newspaper reports, while the dotted line (total mobilizations) represents the sum of newspaper reports and mobilization events recorded from Mapuche organizations' documents. If the same event was reported by both sources, it was counted only once.

The interaction of four factors contributes to explain the differences observed between events recorded by the newspaper and Mapuche documents. 1) the political-repressive context, where censorship occurs in two ways, through the official channels, or as self-censorship; 2) the ideological perspectives of the editors which determines what should be published and how; 3) the "news-worthiness" of the event, which also varies in different contexts; 4) the characteristics of the event. Different types of event were covered differentially.

For example, in the 1979 peak, the political situation was still completely closed. Repression was harsh, and the "uniformed press" (obsequious to the regime) was silent about any dissident expressions. There was no alternative press. As a consequence, the mobilization events and the polemics about the new indigenous law, severely critized beginning in 1978 (previous to its promulgation), were partially reported. Most coverage favored official authorities defending the law. Their opponents were covered selectively, with attention paid particularly to the Catholic Bishops, but largely ignoring the emerging Mapuche leaders. Statements and activities of grassroots

mobilizations of Mapuche opposing the law, when reported at all, were clearly misrepresented. The 1984 peak occurred during a period of national unrest, which triggered the opening up of the political system. An alternative press had begun to appear, and the press was more likely to report these events due to the new political conditions. Also, the very characteristics of these events, mostly demonstrations and clashes (see Table 1), made them newsworthy for the press.

Figures 3 to 6 depict the annual levels of each one of the indicators of mobilization. Briefly, before each is discussed in detail, it is necessary to recall that each event was classified under only one category. Similarly, when two or more actions were related, they were classified as one event, according to the end state of the process.

In this thesis, when necessary for a better understanding of the different periods of mobilization (peaks), the distinction between initial form and the form in which an event was classified will be discussed.

Public Meetings

Figure 3 shows the number of meetings per year. The overall distribution of the public meetings follows the shape of the total mobilization chart (Figure 2), although some difference exists between the newspaper reports and documents reported events, particularly for the years 1978 and 1979. These differences are explained primarily

by the political context and the characteristics of the organizational process during that period. A significant number of early meetings were called to develop an organic structure and to oppose the land division. Many of these meetings were held in rural localities, with the participation of regional leaders, local authorities and/or administrative officers. There was little press coverage for the Centros Culturales Mapuche (Mapuche Cultural Centers), which were organized in that period (see Appendix 3 for an organizational map). It was not convenient for the regime to have the opposition that land division met among Mapuches emerge in the public domain.

Figure 3:   Total Meetings per year, 1973 - 1988.
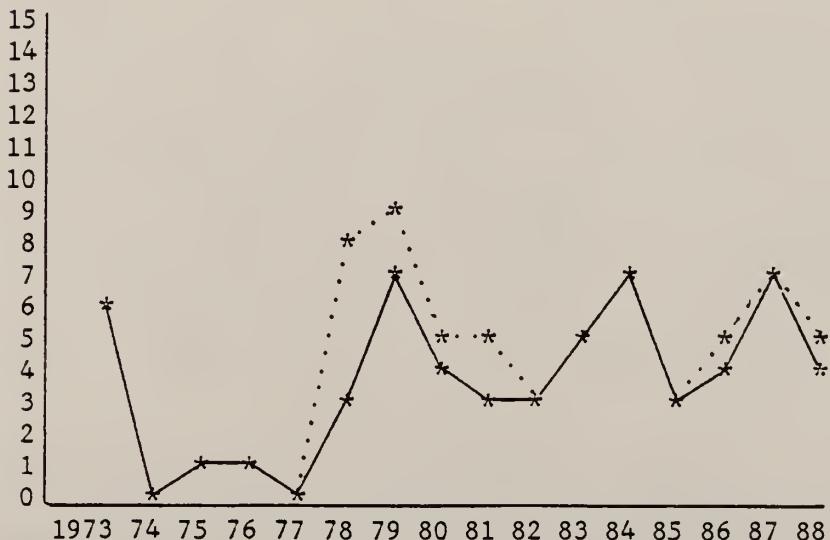
Source: El Austral (Temuco)   *————————*
          Mapuche Documents   * . . . . . *
Note: Peaks of 1979, 1984 and 1987 are
          significantly different from the mean
          (p<.05).

After 1979, the number of public meetings tends to maintain a floor similar to the 1973 level, over which the peaks are superimposed. These meetings represent permanent actions that Mapuche organizations carry out on behalf of their rights. Following are two examples that help to explain the characteristics of the events found in this category.

The October 23, 1980 public meeting is a good example of a mobilization that did not get reported in the newspaper. The meeting in question between Mapuches and public officers from INDAP (National Institute for Livestock and Agricultural Development) was one of several in which groups of Mapuches opposed the land division which was to be carried out by INDAP staff.

Two elements are important to highlight from this example. First, according to the figures reported in the document, one hundred people gathered from 18 communities, which in a rural locality represents a significant mobilization, and suggests a high level of interest in the issue of land division, particularly notable during 1978 and 1979. Secondly, it reflects the highhanded attitude of governmental officials in their attempts to force land division. Such a situation sometimes resulted in these meetings evolving into clashes.

The meeting reported in the March 22, 1984 issue of El Austral is one of the few meetings between Mapuche leaders from organizations other than the governmental Regional Mapuche Councils (Consejos Regionales Mapuche), and high governmental authorities (the head of the regional government, which gives it newsworthiness. This meeting,

held during the 1984 peak, exemplifies a type of mobilization which, although involving a few important leaders, was able to achieve wide coverage, extending the organization's national/regional presence.

Demonstrations

No difference was found between newspaper reports and events recorded by Mapuche organization documents. This result is explained by the defining characteristics of a demonstration. That is, a demonstration should convoke public attention.

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Figure 4: Demonstrations per year
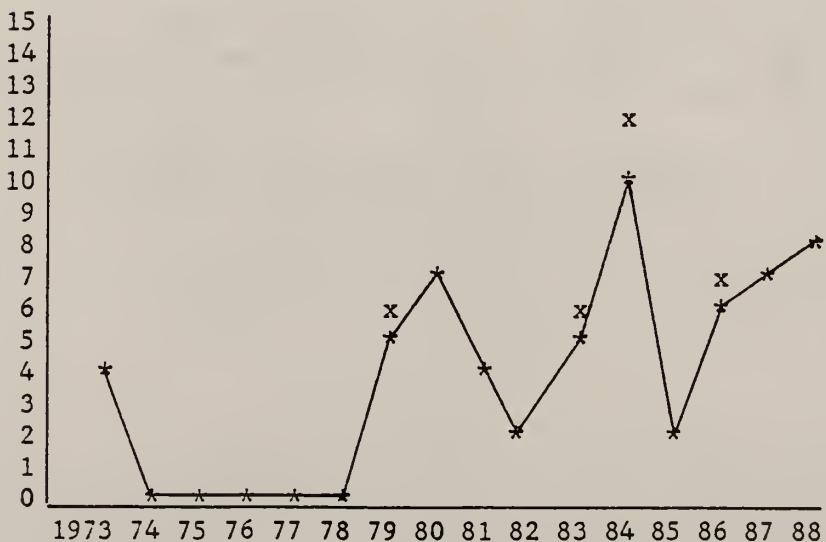
Source: El Austral (Temuco)   *———*
         Mapuche Documents

         x: Number of demonstrations including those
            evolving into clashes
Note: Peaks of 1980, 1984 and 1988 are
         significantly different from the mean
         ($p < .05$).

Figure 4 summarizes the information. Demonstrations reached a first peak in 1980 (p<.05), a year after the first total-mobilization peak (Figure 2). Similarly, there is at least a one year disjuncture (according to the information available to December 1989) between demonstrations which reached a highest point in 1988 (p<.05) (Figure 4) and the peak for total mobilization, which occured in 1987.

The 1984 peak in demonstrations corresponds to the total mobilization peak for that year. The "x" in Figure 4 corresponds to all the events that began as demonstrations, but ended in clashes, the category under which they were classified. There were five such events.

Two examples of demonstrations are presented for illustrative purposes. First, on November 5 and 6, 1981 a special event, a "Nguillatun" took place on the outskirts of Temuco. This traditional Mapuche ritual, which in other circumstances should not be considered as a demonstration, had particular characteristics that allowed for its classification as a demonstration. Thousands of Mapuches from urban and rural localities throughout the region, as well as various international indigenous leaders, gathered. Also, several non-Mapuches, including a Nobel Peace Prize winner, a Catholic Bishop, and Chilean socio-political leaders, participated, demonstrating their solidarity with the Mapuche cause. During the event the participants repudiated the land division as being contrary to the rights

of indigenous people to live on their lands. They asked that the land division be stopped and expressed their willingness to fight back in order to preserve their communal lands and cultural identity. This event shows how traditional ritual expressions might take on a political cast and become mobilizations.

On July 31, 1984 a demonstration was scheduled in a rural sector to welcome two Mapuche leaders returning from banishment. However, the local authorities did not allow it to occur. In such circumstances, the leaders of the organization involved (Ad-Mapu) changed the demonstration to an urban location. It was carried out primarily by urban Mapuches and involved the participation of local political leaders from Chilean opposition parties. This event suggest the situational character of mobilization and the capacity and necessity for any organization to define, place, and modify its actions according to the changing conditions of the socio-political environment.

Seizures

During 1971-72, seizures were the most effective form of mobilization utilized by Mapuches. Land take-overs, recuperations and fence movings represented the culmination of Mapuche rights and demands for land. They involved the massive participation of rural Mapuches. After the military coup, it was not until 1984 that this type of mobilization reappeared, although even then it was drastically repressed. This can be determined by the number of seizures that evolved into clashes (the "x"s in Figure 5). On the other hand, urban

actions such as seizures/occupations of buildings, had been carried out by small groups as a mechanism of political pressure and propaganda.

Figure 5: Total Seizures per year, 1973 - 1988.
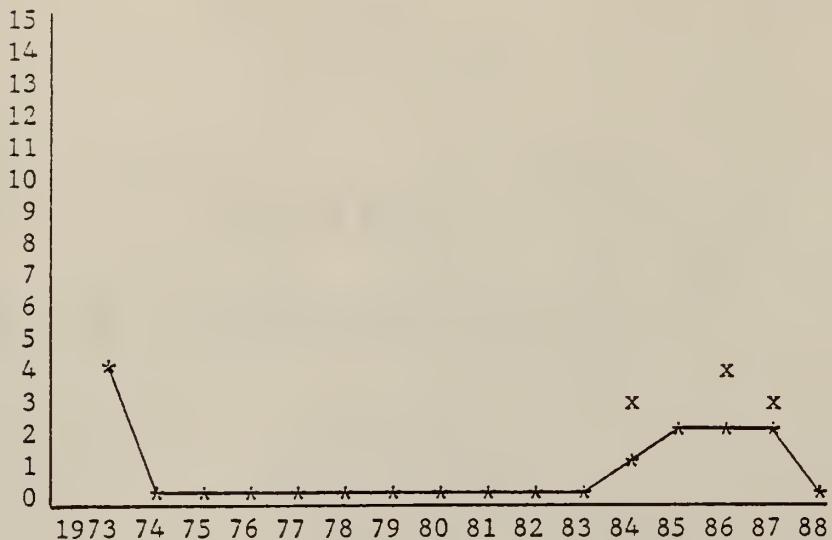
Source: El Austral (Temuco) 1973 - 1988   *————*
          Mapuche Documents   *..... *

          x: Number of demonstrations including those
             evolving into clashes

Although the seizure chart has a different shape than the others, it is important to highlight that, taking into account the seizures which evolved into clashes, it can be said that an increase coincident with the 1987 peak did occur.

It is particularly difficult to establish when a mobilization should be classified as a land seizure or as a clash. Seizures always imply overt confrontation. Thus, a specific criteria should be defined in order to set the boundaries between one form and the other.

In this thesis the criterion has to do with the resolution of the conflict. When a land take-over ends not by the decision of the group involved, but as the result of overt pressure exerted upon the group by outsiders opposed to the action, the event should be considered as a clash.

Two examples of this category are presented. The newspaper report of September 14, 1984, which in fact refers to two different mobilization events carried out by the same grassroots community groups, informs the problem discussed above. The first event (October 31, 1984) should be classified as a land take-over. After reaching an agreement with the authorities, the group involved decided to put an end to the seizure. However, after waiting for a year, when no solution to the land tenure problem was forthcoming these communities took over the land again. However, this time they were expelled by the police. Therefore this event was classified as a clash.

The October 12, 1985 event represents another type of seizure. In this case a small group of leaders seized the ECLA (Economic Commission for Latin America) headquarters in Santiago in order to denounce arbitrary actions of the regime against Mapuche leaders and to ask for revocation of those actions. These actions were in part designed as political propaganda aimed at disseminating the organization's agenda throughout Chilean society and to the international community.

Clashes

The frequency of clashes (Figure 6) replicates the total mobilization findings (Figure 2). The three peaks are significantly different from the mean (p<.05). Also, there is a difference between newspaper and document reports.

Figure 6: Total Clashes per year
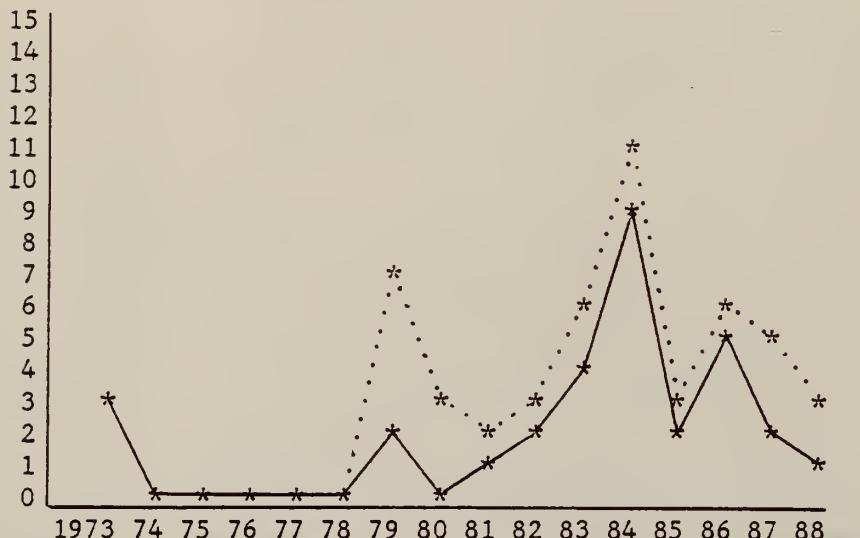
Source: El Austral (Temuco) 1973 - 1988 *━━━━━*
          Mapuche Documents   * . . . . . *
Note: Peaks of 1979, 1984 and 1987 are
          significantly different from the mean
          (p<.05).

The differences between reports can be explained by the type of clashes with which they deal. Newspapers, by and large, report violent events (with people wounded and/or placed under arrest) involving police and/or military forces and large groups of Mapuches. These events tend to be part of larger mobilizations (involving massive participation), which are focused on some specific issue (for which

there is an obvious political overtone). On the other hand, the re-pressive response reflects massive undifferentiated punitive actions to discourage grassroots support for further mobilizations.

On the other hand, events recorded by the organizations represent less notorious mobilizations which occur with a greater frequency. In general these are local events, in which local groups or leaders are defending their rights to land, to hold meetings, etc. Such clashes reflect the government's systematic policy of repression aimed at hampering internal organizational work, by targeting specific communities and/or leaders.

Following are three examples of these events. The press statement of April 13, 1982, issued by Ad-Mapu, refers to the action of a com-munity opposing the threats of INDAP staff to impose land division. On the other hand, the September 16, 1986 newspaper reported with 5 days' delay a clash between military forces and the two communities which on several earlier occasions had engaged in mobilizations. In the first case, the event occurred in a period of low mobilization. This was a mobilization with a local objective, in which Ad-Mapu was testing its organizational capacity. The second mobilization took place during the 1984 peak, and it was aimed at achieving national political significance. It occurred on September 11, the anniversary of the installation of the military regime in 1973.

Finally, the mobilization of April 25, 1984 is a good example of an event that evolved from one type into another. In this case, the event began, following a public meeting of Ad-Mapu, as a pacific march

aimed at demonstrating the organization's strength. However, the march was intercepted by police forces, ending in a violent clash. This pattern, particularly significant during the 1984 peak, indicates the relation between the political context and the type of strategy advanced by the organizations in their mobilizations.

Others

Only one event was recorded in this category. Although a unique event, it will be briefly discussed because of the period in which took place, and because it helps to understand the overall context of Mapuche mobilizations.

Sunday August 3, 1975 the National television network broadcasted a "cultural" show in which some of the participants made offensive statements about Mapuche people. The day after the show, governmental authorities condemned the opinions expressed in the show, and used the opportunity to reaffirm the stereotype of the "noble and heroic" Araucanian (Indian). A week after, several former Mapuche leaders (from different organizations) presented a formal legal complaint against the television network and the participants in the show, arguing the show was discriminatory and humiliating for Mapuches. However, a few days later, the authorities intervened again, this time "asking" Mapuche leaders to withdraw their complaint.

Events such as those presented in this section, illustrating the different type of mobilizations, reflect on the one hand how mobilization was a vehicle of the groups involved, bringing out their

sense of shared identity (and their desire to preserve it), high-lighting the problems Mapuche organizations defined as crucial.

On the other hand, they represent the dominant society's views and policies toward Mapuches. Two apparently contradictory societal views, discrimination and assimilation, are reconciled through the expression of folkloric stereotypes, since such stereotypes do not constitute a challenge to the status quo. Also, these events under-line how Chilean society attempts to control any action in which Mapuches seek to modify their conditions.

It is expected that Mapuche mobilizations will arise only when changes in the socio-political system (such as a shift in resources) are articulated, through the definitions that Mapuche organizations make about the current correlation of political forces, into a mobilization strategy. Such definitions emerge as presentation strategies that may call for the expression of a particular contex-tually related form of mobilization.

Based on the above analysis, four different moments can be iden-tified during the 1973 -1988 period: 1) 1973-1978; 2) 1978-1983; 1983-1986; 4) 1986-1988. For each one of these, different sets of relationships between the Chilean socio-political context, Mapuche organizational structure and definitions can be established. As a result of these interactions mobilizations will arise at certain points. Moreover, the characteristics of the mobilization strategies will be different from one moment to another.

1973 - 1978: The Aftermath of the Coup

There was no significant mobilization during this period. Only three events were recorded, none of which challenged any policy decision. These events, two public meetings and the only event classified as "other" reflected the predominance of a low profile presentational strategy.

The Socio-Political Context

This thesis argues that changes in the socio-political context are one of the factors intervening in the generation of mobilization. This phase began with the military coup. It was characterized by the establishment of the bases for consolidation of the military dictatorship. The 1925 constitution and the Congress were abolished. All political and social organizations and mechanisms of social participation were suppressed by decree. Under the state of siege a fierce repression started against supporters of President Allende's government, or anyone opposed to the dictatorship.

During this period the internal composition and power relations among the members of the military junta was at issue. By the end of this period, the internal conflict was almost resolved, favouring Pinochet (and the army), who increasingly exerted hegemonic and personalized power (Maira 1986).

Of particular importance was the end of the agrarian reform and the launching of a counter-agrarian reform in December 1973. A new

model of agricultural production, and hence of agrarian structure, and new patterns of accumulation were imposed (Crispi, et al. 1980).

For rural Mapuches this implied that all their claims for collective control over their land and organizational efficacy for accomplishing that end were set back. The 1972 Indigenous law was frozen. Further, as early as May 1974, regional land owners (Temuco) started asking for the complete abolition of the law which protected Mapuches' land from being acquired by non-Mapuches, arguing that incorporating Mapuche's land into the market economy would result in more efficient utilization of land resources (El Austral May 8, 1974).

Official discourse about Mapuches during this period tend to emphasize the "good will and intentions" of the authorities for solving Mapuche's problems "with no demagogy", asking Mapuches to work hard for the improvement of their conditions and the "reconstruction" of Chile (El Austral October 19, 1973). The discourse called for the integration of Mapuches into national production, asking Mapuches to "overcome their apathy and indifference" to structural changes going on in Chile (El Austral August 20, 1974). The folkloric stereotype regarding Mapuches was enhanced, as a way to "remind" Mapuches about their heroic past, which should be the model for their present behavior. Summarizing the above, Lucia Hiriart de Pinochet (General Augusto Pinochet's spouse), in an official visit to Temuco, expressed in a public meeting with Mapuches that, "Mapuches should return to being the brave and dignified people they were originally, which is possible only through the hard work of Mapuche men and women (El

Austral May 20, 1975, pp. 5-6). This discourse pervaded all governmental actions targeted toward Mapuches. With minor variations, that has been the predominant view of government officials regarding Mapuches.

The Organizational Process

Mapuche organizational structure has always been complex and characterized by internal diversity. The 1973 - 1988 period is not an exception.

By the end of 1972 more than 40 organizations at different levels represented Mapuches' claims (Molina and Rivera 1986; Morales 1986). A significant number of these organizations were members of the National Mapuche Federation (Confederacion Nacional Mapuche). With the coup, although they were not banned, many of these organizations disappeared due to repression against their leaders (Bengoa 1982). Nevertheless, some organizations supportive of the regime survived and continued developing certain types of activities, basically related to and supportive of government programs. On only a few occasions did these organization express points of view which diverged from that of the regime. Rarely did they carry out mobilizations aimed at furthering their interests as an oppressed indigenous ethnic group.

Among these, the Araucanian Union (Union Araucana, established in 1916 by the Capuchin order) and the Araucanian Society (Sociedad Araucana, created in the 1930s) should be mentioned. Although these

organizations claimed to represent significant segments of Mapuche people, they did not engage in significant grassroots activities. Two other organizations, the Mapuche Commando and the Indigenous Federation (Confederacion Indigena) were active. The last one created in 1976 after a national congress of Indigenous people (El Austral July 25, 1976). Among these organizations there was a certain degree of interlocking leadership. Despite these links and common support for the regime, they did have differences, particularly in regard to land tenure legislation, which started to be expressed soon after the coup (El Austral April 22, 1974; July 9, 1974; July 22, 1974; December 15, 1975; July 25, 1976).

During this period, organizations formally existed, but had few substantive activities. There was no major grassroots involvement in the organizations, only the action of leaders. No specific policies were designed for different sectors (women, youth, urban dwellers), and the objectives that these organizations did support (education, health, and elimination of land tax) were presented isolated from their context.

Internal Definitions

The internal definitions that Mapuche organizations elaborated for themselves during this period, as well as their strategies, were shaped by the "integrationist" assumptions they held, aimed at incorporating Mapuches into "civilization" and into regional and national development. In this ideological position, there was no

conceptualization of the contradictory structural relationship be-
tween the two societies. Actual problems were conceptualized by the
organizations as the result of Mapuches' limited integration into the
national society.

Within this framework the concept of identity (self-presentation)
appeared only in related concepts through which was delineated a
particular definition of identity. The related concepts of "Mapuche
race", "Mapuche people" and "Minority" were used. "Mapuche race"
appeared primarily in the context of inter-ethnic relations. The
concept emphasized those elements that were related to idealized
historic characteristics of Mapuches and their role in the constitu-
tion of Chilean nationality. "Mapuche people" had a different char-
acter, appealing more to internal elements related to Mapuche
socio-cultural practices. Finally, "minority", suggested that
Mapuches were in a disadvantageous position within Chilean society.
For the organizations, these definitions suggested both their marginal
position and the recognition of themselves as a constituent element
of Chilean nationality (i.e., not as a people with its own identity).
Such definitions formed the basis for their integrationist strategies.

> Being aborigines, we consider ourselves constituent
> components of Chilean nationality. We define
> ourselves as Mapuches because we are a minority
> (which) requires full integration into national
> society. Through this process Mapuches no longer
> will be a burden for the country, but pioneers in
> the development and defense of national patrimony
> and unity (Congreso Mapuche 1975, p.7, my translation).

This quote from the resolutions of the Mapuche congress held in 1975 defines the organizations' presentational strategies. For these organizations, group identity did not have a conflictive political dimension. The historical project advanced by these organizations necessarily had to be the integration of Mapuches into Chilean society. In fact, organizations expressed this as the "interest of Mapuche people in reaching solutions to their actual problems" (El Austral August 5, 1974). In order to achieve integration, the organizations stressed that Mapuches values (the historic stereotype) should be preserved, but incorporated into the development of national society (Congreso Mapuche 1975; El Austral July 22, 1974; December 1, 1975). Integration and development were conceptualized primarily for a rural agriculturally related Mapuche population.

Only within this context did land tenure acquire central importance in the organizations' definitions and strategies. Mapuches' role in agricultural production was equated with national development, as a speaker for the 1975 Mapuche Congress stated:

> We believe that the future of Chile is Agriculture, therefore, we (Mapuches) are offering our human potential, but we are also asking for the necessary economic means to carry out this task (El Austral December 13, 1975, p. 13; my translation).

The self-definitions of Mapuche organizations emphasized a non-political character and pluralistic representation of "all Mapuche people". Organizations defined themselves as truly representing Mapuche people (El Austral December 4, 1974). Organizations were

defined as instruments for facilitating the integration of Mapuches into national society.

> The creation of a new (indigenous) organization does not imply, in any case, the stimulation of new tensions between Chileans (Congreso Mapuche 1975, my translation).

For the organizations holding these definitions, the state was viewed as a problem-solving institution, an arbiter of disputes (Foester 1984). Mobilization was not included among their strategies, much less as a political instrument for policy change. Further, mobilization was associated with factors and social actors alien to Mapuche people.

The concept of class consciousness and the relation between class and ethnicity did not appear directly, but only in relation to the national political conflict. For these organizations, class was not identified as a variable within Mapuche society. What remains contradictory is that the solution of the "Mapuche problem" through integration necessarily implies a class position, a situation that the organizations never recognized as a consequence of their strategy. Similarly, no particular social sectors were defined as allies.

There was no significant mobilization during this period (see Figure 2). The few events that occurred did not become part of a generalized process of Mapuche social mobilization. Land usurpations and other situations which can be considered as social strains were present (El Austral July 25, 1976). However the changes operating in the socio-political system after the coup created a negative context for mobilization, and the organizations more likely to mobilize

were severely repressed and their organic structures dismanteled. The basic objective was survival.

1978 - 1983: Re-articulation

Mapuches mobilizations during this period reached a high level, peaking in 1979. The predominant type of mobilization in this phase was public meetings. They spread throughout the region and involved a high level of participation.

The Socio-Political Context

The national referendum of January 4, 1978 definitively consolidated Pinochet's power. After a "silent" power struggle, in July, General Gustavo Leigh, commander-in-chief of the Air Force and member of the military junta, was deposed by the other three members. From that moment on, Pinochet had no major obstacles to becoming president under a new constitution in March 1980.

On the other hand, this period represents the beginning of the resurgeance of social and political organizations, as well as the initial demonstrations against the dictatorship. Social organizations played a crucial role in the development of multiple actions which opened the political spaces a bit. Various organizations developed, related to the Catholic Church and workers' organizations. However, it was not until 1982, after various successful social mobilizations which expanded the socio-political space, that these organizations developed a coordinated leadership.

In March 1979 law 2568 was promulgated (Chile 1979). This law was the expression of the counter-agrarian reform, specifically targeted at the Mapuche sector. Immediately following promulgation of the law, the regime started the division of Mapuche community lands, assigning individual property rights, and incorporating Mapuche's lands into the market economy. The law was also conceived to eliminate Mapuches as a social category, as a different ethnic group. The Minister of Agriculture in 1978, Mr. Marquez de la Plata, stated this clearly, "The new law implies a new approach: In Chile there are not indigenous people, only Chileans" (El Austral August 23, 1978, p.3). Multiple collateral actions were developed to pressure Mapuches to accept division of their lands.

Within Chilean society, the Catholic Church strongly opposed the law and supported the Mapuches by different means. Resources for Mapuche organizations were channeled through the Indigenous Institute Foundation (Fundacion Instituto Indigena). Further, the Catholic bishops, and particularly the bishop of Temuco (as a church spokesperson), expressed their opposition to the law for constituting a violation of Mapuches' rights and an attempt against Mapuche identity.

A confrontation between the church and the government occurred, leading to a meeting between Catholic bishops and general Pinochet. Despite wide spread opposition to the law, the government introduced only minor modifications (with no Mapuche participation), which did not change the spirit of the law.

Also, the National Anthropological Association expressed opposition to the law (La tercera de la Hora August 31, 1978). Later on, several non-governmental organizations (most created by non-Mapuches) emerged. The NGO's channeled increasing resources for organizational work, aimed at supporting Mapuches' subsistance strategies and organizational development (Gacitua 1986; Gomez 1982).

Finally, it should be mentioned that during this period the government promoted the organization of a Mapuche Regional Council (Consejo Regional Mapuche), a government controlled organization. Through this organization, resources were allocated to support governmental policies and to attack institutions and organizations opposed to land division.

The Organizational Process

In this period, organizational structure changed dramatically from the previous period. In September 1978, a group of Mapuche leaders, many of them related to the Catholic Church, expressed their concern about the "lack of leadership in representing Mapuches and leading them in their struggles" (Centros Culturales Mapuches 1978, p. 1). They called "all Mapuches to unify themselves into one movement". A few months later, Mapuche Cultural Centers (Centros Culturales Mapuches, CCM hereafter) emerged with the participation of more than one hundred representatives (Bengoa 1982; El Austral September 15, 1978; El Mercurio September 17, 1978; Molina and Rivera 1986).

This group, supported by the Catholic Church, was very heterogeneous in its composition, including former leaders of different political tendencies and backgrounds, from former supporters of Presidente Allende to leaders who initially supported the military regime. Intense work was developed, and in less than a year an extensive network was created, with permanent cadres and a clear structure (Centros Culturales Mapuches 1978). By the end of 1980 specific policies were sketched and more than three hundred communities, as well as urban Mapuches, were participating.

The initial organizational process was complete, and the CCM became completely independent of the Catholic church. In a December 1980 national meeting of the CCM, they became Ad-Mapu ("Law From the Land"). The leadership, ratified by representatives of different Mapuche communities, continued to be the same. Ad-Mapu experienced further growth, and relationships with other social organizations and non-governmental institutions increased. International links were strengthened. Finally, in January 1983 a new leadership was elected during the third national meeting which brought together representatives from more than a thousand communities.

Simultaneous with the process described above, a group of Mapuche-Huilliche also began to organize themselves. Although initially they worked along with CCM, after a year they began to look for a more autonomous, regionally based organization (La Tercera March 8, 1980; Molina 1987). They revitalized a traditional organizational structure (Jaramillo and Paillacar 1986; Molina 1987). In December

1983 the General Junta of Chiefs from the Big Lands of the South (Junta General de Caciques de la region del Butahuillimapu, hereafter called Junta Caciques) was reorganized, also with the support of the Catholic Church (Junta Caciques 1983).

On the other hand, some organizations supportive of the regime were nucleated into a government-created organization, the Mapuche Regional Council (Consejo Regional Mapuche, hereafter Consejo Regional) (El Austral September 8 and 9, 1978). From March 1979, Consejos Regionales started working through the municipal bodies, using governmental resources, to promote land division (El Austral May 14, 1979). Their organizational structure responded to local government authorities. The leadership was, and still is, appointed (or removed) by the government, which also designs their policies and actions (El Austral August 7 and 23, 1979). Resources were allocated to give some partial solutions to material problems (El Austral August 19, 20, 29 and 30, 1981), but without questioning the structural causes of those problems.

Internal Definitions

The type of Mapuche discourse that became predominant after the creation of Centros Culturales implied a redefinition of the relationship between Mapuche and Chilean societies. Various Mapuche ideological positions converged, resulting in a new strategy.

A central problem with two components was recognized by the leaders. First was an internal problem: the lack of genuine leader-

ship among Mapuche people. The problem was not only one of repre-
sentation to the outside, but also a lack of internal consensus.
Second, and related to the above, was the need for a movement aimed
at preserving and perfecting what was defined as Mapuches' raison
d'etre: "to be Mapuches, people of the land" (Centros Culturales 1979,
p. 1; my translation)

It is in that context that the defense of land was presented. This
definition represented a different emphasis from that of the former
period. Between 1973 and 1978, land was also a central question for
Mapuche organizations, and no doubt related to the Mapuches' identity
and their organizationally-based self-presentation. However, organ-
izations, in that period placed emphasis on economic and productive
matters related to land tenure.

The concept of identity/self-presentation acquired multiple and
complementary expressions in the organizations' discourse during 1978
- 1983. A first element was whether they could continue to "be a
people" within the new legislative framework. The land tenure system,
beyond its material dimension, became central for the projection of
Mapuche identity.

> For Mapuches, as for many other ethnic groups, land
> has use value, and it is a social good . . . Land,
> for Mapuches represents another dimension that can be
> called sacred (Ad-Mapu 1982, p. 1; my translation).

Other important elements in this matrix, the concepts of commu-
nity, reciprocity and cooperation acquired special meaning. These
formulations made reference to historic and symbolic foundations for

the existence and identity of Mapuche people (Centros Culturales 1979).

Together these symbols represented a world view, and how the organizations visualized Mapuches' identity in the development of a historical project (Nehuen 1980). Language (Mapudungun), in particular, was defined to be crucial for the maintenance of their group boundaries and unity, linking the rural community, which had a material base for defining itself as such, and the growing urban sectors, which had to rely upon the symbolic community.

> We believe that our language is what allows us to be
> unified and preserve our culture (Centros Culturales
> 1980, p. 1; my translation).

Finally, there was an incipient political dimension: the presentation of a strategy for gaining power within Chilean society. In close relation to the above is the concept of historical project. Although vague in the beginning, Centros Culturales had a notion of a long term project aimed at securing the existence of the Mapuche people as a people. Early documents emphasized the trilogy land-identity-survival as crucial for the development of their historical project. In a nutshell, they believed that a historical project without land was impossible because Mapuches' identity, hence existence, would be threatened.

> Land and communal life have a central place for
> Mapuches. As such, they should be protected by
> legislation assuring the existence of Mapuches
> as an ethnic people (Centros Culturales 1978, p. 1;
> my translation).

The project defined by Centros Culturales called for legislation to stop land division. Later on, other elements began to be incorporated. Cultural policies began to be developed. The project began to define more clearly appropriate Mapuche political participation and recognition by the Chilean society (Ad-Mapu 1982). However, by the end of this period, there was still no precise definition of the structure of the historical project, and of its implications in the long run.

There was also a process of defining appropriate allies. A very simple criterion was used. Groups who supported the Mapuches' demands and the recognition of their autonomy were allies. Accordingly, various social actors were considered as allies, from the Catholic Church to professional associations. There was no major consideration of their class position or the overall program they had for the transformation of Chilean society.

The concept of class consciousness was not clearly defined in the organizations' discourse. This is illustrated by their choice of allies. Alliances were sought and established with different social actors regardless of their class position. In the later part of this period, through the analysis of the effects of the economic system upon Mapuche social structure, a more class-based discussion of the relationship between class and ethnicity started.

> The imposition of a capitalist economy, and
> particularly the economic model implemented by the
> (military) regime, erodes and threatens our
> communal economy . . . and has negative
> consequences for Mapuche small producers
> (Ad-Mapu 1982, p. 6; my translation).

This definition, based upon an idealized conception of communal economy (Bengoa and Valenzuela 1985), placed Mapuches along side other social classes exploited by the capitalist system, and defined Mapuches as members of an ethnic group, and small producers within the capitalist system, therefore, who belonged to a social class.

The discourse elaborated about the government/state reflected a completely different approach from that in the previous period. The state was defined as aggressor. There was a reinterpretation of the historic relationship between Mapuche people and the Chilean state. The state was defined as being in permanent contradiction with Mapuche interests, as the quote in the introduction of this thesis stated, ". . . we (Mapuches) live under a permanent and systematic official policy of domination" (Ad-Mapu 1982, p. i). According to this definition, the state not only failed to recognize Mapuche reality, but designed policies which were intrinsically ethnocentric. Its policies were aimed at the socio-cultural elimination of Mapuche people (Centros Culturales 1979, 1980). However, regardless of this structural conflict between Mapuche people and the state, Mapuche organizations still were asking the government for policy modifications within the existing political/institutional structure.

Two elements should be discussed in relation to the conceptions Mapuche organizations had about themselves and their role in society. First, organizations defined themselves as providing a collective space where different Mapuche sectors and currents of opinion could

be expressed and articulated into one common platform.   Organizational

process was to be based upon democratic participation, and sought

broad representation.

> We recognize Centros Culturales Mapuche as the
> organization that expresses and represents all
> Mapuches and other ethnic groups (Centros
> Culturales 1980, p. 5; my translation).

Mapuche organizations defined themselves as genuine represen-

tatives of Mapuche people and interests before the Chilean state,

leading Mapuches in their mobilizations and defining policies of

action.

A second element stressed by the organizations relates to the

concept of identity.   The organizations provided a privileged space

for the preservation, development and projection of Mapuche identity.

> Mapuches need an organization strong enough to
> recover the hopes, concerns and decisions of our
> people, preserving and perfecting what is our
> raison d'etre: to be Mapuches (Centros Culturales
> 1980, p. 1; my translation).

The definition of appropriate forms of mobilization was always

related to specific situations and/or objectives.   From the beginning

of this period the meaning of mobilization was stated in the organ-

izations' documents in various related forms.

Mapuche social mobilization was defined by Centros Culturales as

the most effective resource Mapuches could use in defense of their

lands.

> The best advocate on behalf of our land for
> preventing the division of those 1,500
> [still undivided] communities is the Mapuche
> people themselves (Centros Culturales 1980, p. 5;
> my translation).

For the organizations, mobilization represented the will of the majority and a step toward self-determination. Through mobilization, Mapuche organizations expressed and defended their presentational strategies and historical project. An explanation of the 1979 mobilization peak follows from these definitions. Three elements of the socio-political context should be kept in mind: 1) the imposition of a new law; 2) the overt opposition of the Catholic Church and other social sectors to the law; 3) the relative openness of the political system, which allowed organizational development.

What did Mapuche organizations have to say about these conditions? Mapuche leaders were able to develop a new strategy which responded to these changes. The necessity for new organizational structures and an overall historical project was determined. Representation, participation and unity were necessary elements of the new organizational structure. The identity of the group (and its presentation) was supported through the defense of land, and mobilization emerged as one of the strategies for presenting and defending these definitions.

External resources were used by the organization in developing this strategy. However, resources were deemed necessary but insufficient for triggering mobilization and solving Mapuches problems. Only through active participation could resources be utilized for real Mapuche benefit. Active Mapuche participation in social mobilization was defined essential for the realization of the organizations' de-

finitions. In that context, mobilization was considered necessary for the projection of Mapuche group identity.

Two final comments should be made before discussing the decline of mobilization. First, the predominant type of mobilization during this period was public meetings (see Table 1). These mobilizations were the massive response of rural bases to the imposition of land division and the call of their organization to stop it. Secondly, these mobilizations progressively acquired the character of clashes (see Figure 2 and 5).

The decline of mobilization in 1981 and 1982 can be explained in reference to three processes: 1) the response to mobilization was increasing repression; 2) the Consejos Comunales Mapuches (the government dependent organization) started a vigorous campaign in support of land division and against Mapuche participation in the Centros Culturales; 3) the attrition resulting from the prolonged mobilization and its partial failure (in regard to preventing land division). Grassroots participation in these events decreased markedly. These factors resulted in a new constellation of forces in which mobilization was no longer possible.

1983 - 1986: Social Explosion

Mapuche mobilization reached the highest point in this period. Clashes and demonstrations constituted the prevalent types of mobilization. They took place in urban and rural localities and involved the participation of politically active groups.

The Socio-Political Context

This was a period of high social mobilization, of overt confrontation between opposition socio-political organizations and the military regime. It was also a time of internal discussion within the opposition, of struggle between different strategies for confronting the dictatorship. Successive political alliances emerged among the different sectors of the opposition. Although these alliances made possible the expression of long silent sectors, they were unable to generate a common platform for facing the regime (Maira 1986).

Three elements should be stressed. 1) The generation of different forms of social mobilization and protest in Chilean society. Multiple social organizations (human rights, women, students, workers, etc.) played a crucial role. As a result of these mobilizations, important civil rights were recovered, and political action was expanded beyond that of the traditional political parties. Although this was a time of crisis for the regime, the government was able to manage it, using massive repression and taking advantage of the internal differences between the opposition sectors.

2) Mapuche organizations acquired a significant role in multiple socio-political networks and alliances, particularly at the regional level. Nevertheless, their specific demands were subordinated in the overall discourse of the national socio-political opposition.

3) The process of land division progressed significantly despite the opposition presented by Mapuche organizations and other social

organizations. An annual average of almost 300 communities were di-
vided (Gonzalez 1986). By the end of this period 1,610 reservations
were already divided, resulting in the creation of more than 61,000
individual property units. There remained no more that 450 commu-
nities to be divided (Babarovic et al. 1987).

The Organizational Process

During this period, internal differences among Mapuche leaders
was expressed, starting a process of continuous divisions. This was
a time of increasing political alliances with other socio-political
actors. Mapuche organizations had a preponderant leadership role at
the regional level, developing clear policies for placing their or-
ganizations in the forefront of regional social mobilization. How-
ever, internal differences exploded. In 1984, a group of leaders from
Ad-Mapu left the organization (El Austral June 8 and 9, 1984). These
leaders, although they held varying ideological positions, shared a
common criticism of the political alignment with marxist oriented
political movements that Ad-Mapu's national directorate was pushing.
The break away group started organizing itself, but during this
process, the political differences became more acute. By the end of
1984 one fraction (which emphasized the indigenous/ethnic dimension)
became an independent organization, recovering the name Centros
Culturales as a demonstration of their interest in "recovering the
principles and objectives that led to the creation of Centros
Culturales in 1978" (Centros Culturales A.G. 1985, p.1, my trans-

lation). The other fraction (close to the Christian Democratic party) emerged in 1986 as a third organization, Nehuen Mapu (Strength from the Land), calling for pluralism and wide representation of Mapuche interests (Nehuen Mapu 1986).

The three organizations claimed to represent Mapuches at the national and regional levels. Each one declared political independence from any particular party. All of them had a clear organic structure, with permanent cadres, different programs of actions and bases. They participated in diverse networks, overlapping in their relationships with other social organizations and non-governmental institutions.

In the southern region, Junta Caciques continued to grow, strengthening their internal organization. No apparent internal political differences existed, and if they did, they were subordinated to the organization's objectives and program (Junta Caciques 1983). Networking was permanent, although their relationships with other socio-political actors tended to be less than that developed by the previous organizations.

The governmental Consejos Regionales continued their actions in rural localities. However, some of the leaders began to have overt differences with the line imposed by the authorities, in particular regarding development strategies and the overall Mapuche position in Chilean society. Later, some of these leaders, removed from Consejos Regionales joined the Araucanian Society (Consejo Regional 1984; El Austral June 10, 1986; July 24 and 25, 1986).

Two characteristics of this period should be stressed: 1) the progressive expression of national political discussion within the Mapuche organizations; and 2) the increase in organizations, leaders, networks, etc. These elements, although favouring the manifestation of Mapuche demands and increasing their political impact on Chilean society, created confusion among the organization members, limiting their participation in the organizations.

The Internal definitions

Organizational discourse experienced a double process between 1983 and 1986. On the one hand, further development in the definition of concepts was achieved. On the other hand, this process led to the expression of divergent approaches elaborated by different sectors.

Communal land tenure continued to be an important factor for the definition of presentational strategies, particularly among some organizations.

> A Mapuche without land no longer is Mapuche. Land
> is the foundation of our existence, . . . the basis
> of our social and communal life (Junta Caciques 1984,
> p. 1-2; my translation).

Simultaneously other symbolic elements began to be emphasized. It can be argued that these are synthesized in the concept of "ethnic group" which took on a very different meaning from that in the earlier period. The organizations increasingly used the term in defining Mapuche people, stressing the politico-ideological dimension of identity. This political character of identity was defined as a way

to organize and express the objectives of the historical project, to be fought in the political arena.

> It is necessary to fight for our rights as an
> ethnic group, . . . freeing us from the economic,
> political and social domination exerted by the
> system (Ad-Mapu 1983, p. 1; my translation).

> In order to recognize ourselves as an ethnic
> minority and to be recognized by the Chilean
> state, it is the role of our organization to
> promote . . . the development of consciousness
> among Mapuche people (Nehuen Mapu 1986, p. 3;
> my translation).

The organizations defined themselves as linking the inner dimension of identity with its social projection. The development of a historical project was closely associated with identity and organization. It is not possible to elaborate a historical project without establishing the basis for identity. Identity is expressed through organizational strategies and is continuously reformulated in light of the development of the historical project.

Among the different organizations there was a convergence regarding some crucial issues, although it was not expressed through actual alliances among the organizations.

The axis of the historical project began to move from the land question to the political-ideological dimension. The long run objectives were expanded and land became part of a broader category of economic, social and cultural rights (Ad-Mapu 1983; Centros Culturales A.G. 1986; Nehuen Mapu 1986)

> We advocate autonomy and self-determination for our
> people because we must be agents of our own
> development [and] we demand participation in the
> elaboration of a new political constitution in

which our rights, patrimony and identity should be
granted (Ad-Mapu 1983; p. 10; my translation).

A project like this necessarily required the transformation of

the dominant system, and Mapuche organizations were fully aware of

that.

> Mapuches, like the majority of Chileans, are
> suffering from the consequences of an anti-popular,
> capitalist system, contrary to social and economic
> solidarity (Nehuen Mapu 1986, p. 6; my translation).

> We advocate a new society, just and democratic,
> where our people will have equal participation and
> rights vis a vis other social sectors . . . A new
> democracy would not be possible without Mapuche
> participation along with the peasantry and workers
> of our country (Ad-Mapu 1983, p. 10; my translation)

These quotes save illustrate how Mapuche organizations artic-

ulated the concepts of historical project, government/state, allies

and class/ethnicity. Mapuche organizations in this period elaborated

a special policy for alliances. Specific social classes and sectors

were defined as allies. However, the definition Mapuche organizations

made of their status in these alliances was double: a) as an ethnic

group, with particular rights, and b) as members of a class(es) which

shared a subordinate position in the social structure.

The state, as well as the government in this particular case, was

not only defined as aggressor, but also as no longer legitimate. The

need for changing the government and the system was defined as nec-

essary for the realization of the historical project. However, the

strategies to bring about those changes and the priorities involved

in that process were not agreed upon by the organizations.

The issue of priorities is another expression of the relation between class and ethnicity. It involves two dimensions: 1) the symbolic/ideological, in which different types of solidarity come into play. 2) how organizations allocate resources for the the achievement of objectives.

In this period one sector of Mapuche organizations equated the transformation of the system with the realization of the Mapuche historical project. Therefore, Mapuche participation in that transformation was essential, and the type of alliances established reflected that, emphasizing the class definitions previously mentioned.

> Our leadership made possible a historic change in
> the struggle, bringing our people to the final
> and true emancipation. Our leadership clearly
> visualized who the major enemies of Mapuche and
> non-Mapuche people are: capitalism, imperialism,
> fascism. Our leadership was able to incorporate
> Mapuche people into the historic process Chile is
> undergoing, placing Mapuche people at the level of
> the struggle that is taking place to end the
> dictatorship (Ad Mapu 1985, p.1; my translation).

Mobilization between 1983 and 1986 reached its highest expression for the whole 1973 - 1988 period. By the end of 1983 the above mentioned differences were not yet fully expressed, and Ad-Mapu was still hegemonic. It was not until the mobilization peak was over that the discussed differences became acute.

After May 1983, social unrest and mobilization exploded in Chilean society. A supportive environment for mobilization existed, and multiple social sectors manifested their general demands.

Mapuche mobilizations were part of this process. What was particular to Mapuche mobilizations? Crucial were the definitions

Mapuches organizations made about the government/state, and the chances for their objectives to be realized. The expression of those definitions was considered to be mobilization. On the other hand the networks and alliances involving Mapuche organizations were strong and resources were available from the socio-political networks.

The type of mobilization events during this period were clearly different from those observed in 1979 (see Table 1), more than a third of the events were clashes and demonstrations. This should not be attributed only to the repressive response of the regime, but to the definitions the group made about mobilization. Ad-Mapu (1983, 1984) consistently was calling for "higher" levels of mobilization (including armed struggle).

The groups involved in these mobilizations changed. In the 1979 peak, a significant number of events were carried out by diverse rural (local) groups over a wide extension of the region. In the 1984 peak, mobilization tended to be or focused on certain areas and groups. These phenomena could be related to the definitions made by Mapuche organizations about their identity/self-presentation, their concept of the historical project and strategies to achieve it.

Finally, the abrupt decrease of this mobilization peak took place before the national wave of social protest decreased. This should be explained by the internal crisis that Ad-Mapu, and Mapuche organizations in general, experienced. The splitting off of a group of leaders, and the cessation of a common, hegemonic discourse was crucial. There was confusion among the members of the organizations.

On the other hand, the regime displayed extreme violence, and the repression Mapuche mobilizations met was without parallel.

1986 -1988: Toward New Definitions

This late period represents a change in the type of mobilizations observed, as well as in its number. Demonstrations increased while at the same time clashes decreased. Another strategy was emerging.

The Socio-Political Context

After September 1986, social mobilization decreased. The state of siege was imposed again and repression got worse. In 1987, the regime had the political initiative. A political parties law was passed by the junta in January 1987. A month later the electoral registers were opened and general Pinochet launched his political campaign for the 1988 plebiscite. The initial disorientation and lack of common strategy within the opposition progressively gave room to higher levels of agreement, and mobilization increased again.

In April 1987, the Pope visited Chile, and one of the massive meetings he had was with Mapuche people. In this encounter, John Paul II reaffirmed the rights of indigenous people to self determination, and called for a respectful understanding between the different cultures. Although Mapuche participation in the preliminaries to this meeting was restricted (Ad-Mapu and Centros Culturales Mapuches 1987), the meeting had great political significance.

Another important element in this period was the creation of a special task force, consisting of persons from the National Anthropological Association and the Chilean Human Rights Commission, commissioned to elaborate a report which would provide the basis for a future constitutional amendment regarding ethnic groups in Chile. This task force concluded that indigenous ethnic groups have inalienable rights to their territories, to their own organizations, and to constitutional recognition by the nation-state, as a guarantee of their identity, autonomy and freedom.

Opposition political parties, conscious of the new political environment, expanded their contacts with Mapuche organizations. Similarly, the government launched a strong political campaign to secure potential Mapuche voters. The plebiscite of October 5, 1988 closed this period. The "no" or anti-regime vote, supported by a complex coalition of political parties won by a significant amount at the national level. The IX region (where Mapuche population is concentrated) was the only one where the dictatorship could exhibit a clear triumph: 52.7% for the "si" vote and only 44.8% for the"no vote" (La Epoca October 8, 1988). There was a tendency to a higher rate of "si" vote in those places with the larger Mapuche population.

The Organizational Process

During this period, Mapuche organizations participation in socio-political networks was the highest for the entire period under study. Splits within organizations continued, but an increasing

tendency towards coordination also was developed, and in 1987 a common coordinating body among various Mapuche organizations was established.

Four new Mapuche organizations emerged. In 1987, some Ad-Mapu leaders left the organization arguing no internal plurality existed (El Austral April 22 and 23, 1987. Soon the group who left Ad-Mapu split within itself and three organizations were created: Arauco Mapuche Association (Asociacion Mapuche Arauco) Callfulican and Lautaro ni Aillarehue. Also, another group of Mapuche leaders, in the past related both to Ad-Mapu and Centros Culturales, created another organization, Choin Folilche.

Each one of these started to develop networks, trying to expand their regional impact and increase their political power for bargaining both with the other Mapuche organizations and national socio-political actors. By mid 1987, at least 11 organizations (see Appendix 3) claimed to represent Mapuche interests. Although they had political differences, by and large they shared basic programatic elements regarding Mapuches' position in Chilean society. Until 1987, on various occasions, partial agreement between organizations existed, but they did not develop into long term definitional agreements.

In June 1987, this situation changed when 10 organizations formed a coalition by establishing a "parliament" aimed at strengthing Mapuche unity and at developing and implementing a Mapuche historical project (Futa Trawun 1987). The Mapuche Unitary Coordination, Futa

<u>Trawun,</u> a political-consultative structure that relied on periodic meetings among representatives of the different organizations, began to establish common policies in regard to their relationships with other non-Mapuches social organizations and the conditions necessary for their participation in socio-political alliances. They also began to discuss the elaboration of a constitutional proposal.

The Internal Definitions

This period represented a new challenge for Mapuche organizations. The national political context changed significantly. The partial restitution of political rights represented a transition toward a new institutional period. The continuous divisions in the organizations had placed them in a very weak position, both for bargaining within their alliances and for generating a consensus among Mapuche people.

In this period, the analysis of Mapuche definitions and discourse can be centered around the concept of historical project because in its articulation other concepts converge. However, until now, it has not been clearly delimited.

It was during this period that Mapuche organizations defined in more detail what they meant by a new historical project, as well as the contents of the actual project. There was increasing awareness among the organizations of the need to re-elaborate their strategies.

> Taking into account the ongoing transformations in the country, this congress has to decide if the strategies implemented by our organization have been correct (Ad-Mapu 1987, p. 1; my translation).

In our congress, we have arrived at the conclusion

that it is urgent . . . to define the historical
project (Callfulican 1987, p. 4; my translation).

The definitions elaborated in this period constituted an attempt
to present a common strategy. The concept of self-determination was
emphasized.   It was the basin of a new strategy aimed at gaining
political space as an ethnic group within Chilean society.   Organ-
izational strategies were measured by their contribution to the de-
velopment of autonomy/self-determination.

The renewed demand for constitutional recognition became the axis
around which other demands were made.   There was a redefinition of
long term objectives and strategies.   Emphasis was placed on changing
the institutional framework. New alliances were established requiring
the recognition of Mapuche autonomy for dealing with their own issues.
Alliances with other national ethnic groups were defined as part of
this strategy (Coordinadora Indigenas Urbanos 1988; Coordinadora
Aymara-Mapuche-Rapa Nui 1988).   Similarly, bilateral and trilateral
alliances among Mapuche organizations began to take place, and the
need for coordination was defined.

Taking into account the critical situation that
nowadays affects Chilean people, particularly
Indigenous people, Mapuche organizations have
demonstrated their united spirit through a process
of unification aimed at furthering Mapuche demands
(Futa Trawun 1988, p. 1; my translation).

The definitions made by the organizations led them to elaborate
a new presentational strategy for which a redefinition of the organ-
izational structures was required.   A parallel could be established

between this period and the definitions made in 1978/9. However, this time the need for a united direction was not only for the defense of land but for the defense of autonomy.

> Our united coordination assumes the task of
> elaborating a constitutional proposal . . . as a
> first step in the achievement of our objectives
> and demands. For this, no interference or pressure
> from the state, political parties, non-governmental
> organizations, or any other entity should exist
> (Futa Trawun 1987b, p. 1; my translation).

Two interrelated dimensions were involved. One was internal: no common leadership existed. The other was external, in which the need for representation before Chilean society was urgent. Basic coordination was required for the elaboration of a common strategy.

> We should continue our united work with other
> organizations, being respectful of the space that
> each organization has and appraising the
> participation of all organizations in the Mapuche
> united coordinating group (Callfulican 1987, p. 4;
> my translation).

The 1987 mobilization peak can be explained as follows. Mobilization had a double character. On the one hand, it was an instrument for the construction of internal hegemony, for bargaining and, for shaping a presentational strategy. On the other hand, mobilization was necessary for advancing some basic definitions perceived as vital by the organizations for their historical project of autonomy/self-determination.

The structure and characteristics of the events involved in this peak also help to explain the peak itself and the definitions involved. A significant decline in the number of clashes occurred. In fact, a larger number of clashes were observed in 1986 than in 1987

(see Figure 5). The evolution of land seizures was similar to that of clashes (see Figure 4). On the other hand, there was no increase in the number of public meetings which was parallel to the other peaks (see Figure 2) in this period. Only the number of demonstrations increased significantly (see Figure 3).

It is clear that a different strategy of mobilization was predominant in the 1986 - 1988 period. That strategy reflected the definitions Mapuche organizations made about the government and how they could modify its policies.

The end of this peak can be explained by two main factors. First, the gap increased between Mapuche leadership and grassroots support, which made mobilizations like the ones of 1984, or 1979/80 progressively more difficult to generate. This represented the defeat of the organizations' discourse, which was demonstrated by the regional results of the plebiscite. This situation urgently called for a redefinition of their actions, discourse and strategies. Second, a new socio-political context was developing. The conditions surrounding the plebiscite generated a shift in the strategies of the political opposition. The major goal was to achieve a strong and broad political agreement in order to face the forthcoming elections (December 1989). Mapuche organizations were in a new political situation in which their demands became elements for political bargaining. However,organizationally, they were in an extremely weak position.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis studied Mapuche mobilizations for the period 1973 - 1988 through analysis of Mapuche organizations' written documents and newspaper reports. Documents issued by Mapuche organizations, as well as the mobilizations studied in the newspaper, do not necessarily represent the definitions and actions that Mapuche people as a whole would make, but can only be taken as the self presentation of Mapuche organizations as defined by their leadership.

Mapuche organizations represent the interests of Mapuche people before Chilean society. Through shifting presentation strategies, these organizations display a particular vision of reality to Chilean socio-political actors and to Mapuches themselves.

These symbols and definitions are resources that Mapuche organizations use in negotiating policy issues with different socio-political organizations.

Four different periods of mobilizations between 1973 and 1988 were identified. Different types of mobilization emerged as an instrument for the advancement of long run organizational objectives, which were presented as the historical project of Mapuche people.

Table 2 summarizes the interaction of these elements, according to the process proposed in the mobilization model.

Table 2: Summary of Major Characteristics of Each

Mobilization Period, 1973-1988.

	1973-1978	1978-1983	1983-1986	1986-1988
CONTENT	Highly repressive	Change in land Law External support Rebirth of social organizations	Objective: overthrow dictatorship	Transition is defined Political participation Coalition building
ALLIES	Authorities Generators of culture and civilization	Any one who supports Mapuche objectives	Class alliances predominant	Class and ethnic alliances
MAPUCHE ORGANIZATION	Various organizations supportive of the regime No grassroots participation	One strong organization Broad grassroots participation	Multiple organizations Grassroots participation decreases	Multiple organizations Efforts at coordination Urban predominance
HISTORICAL PROJECT	Integration into national society	Preservation of land and identity	Projection as ethnic minority Self-determination	Projection as ethnic minority Self-determination
SELF PRESENTATION	Emphasis on historical stereotype Economic dimension of land	Emphasis on symbolic dimension of land land-identity organization	Emphasis on political dimension of land and identity	Political projection of ethnicity
MOBILIZATION TYPE	No significant mobilization Only isolated actions by leaders	Public meetings throughout region Rural localities and urban centers	Clashes and demonstrations Urban/Rural	Demonstrations Fewer groups involved Chiefly urban

The definitions Mapuche organizations made were articulated into a historical project. In order to achieve this project, organizations developed specific strategies, which were reflected in the predominant type of mobilization of each period. The interpretation Mapuche organizations made regarding Mapuche social position defined their alliance policies and their participation in the different socio-political processes ongoing in Chile.

A shift occurred in the internal definitions that Mapuche organizations utilized in the elaboration of their identity. Different strategies represented particular articulations of the existing socio-political and organizational characteristics predominant in that period. For some of these strategies, mobilization was defined as necessary. Progressively, emphasis was placed on the politico-ideological dimension of identity. The internal definitions organizations made tended to be based upon political action and struggle in the political arena.

The relationship between ethnic identity and class within this context was a dynamic one. The organizations utilized both categories in their definitions and displayed them according to the evolution and assessment they made of the changes in the Chilean socio-political context and the likelihood of their objectives being achieved.

Class and ethnic identities were presented by the organizations as complementary, not conflicting. They were both articulated in the political action of the organizations at particular periods. Different emphases existed, according to the general socio-political

conditions, but both elements were present in the organizations' strategies. Further, in the elaboration of their historical project, Mapuche organizations recognized that their position in the social structure placed them among other exploited classes within capitalist society.

Throughout the period under study, the idea of a Mapuche historical project began to take shape. There was a progressive redefinition of the content of the historical project (see table 2). The concept of historical project defined the relationship that should exist between Mapuche and Chilean society. Two central elements were involved: identity and self-determination. It was also a broad platform of social, economic, political, and cultural demands aimed at projecting Mapuche people as a separate ethnic group.

The link between the organizations and the Mapuche people as a whole was affected by the degree to which Mapuche people identified with the historical project elaborated by their organizations. The various types of mobilizations observed in the different peaks (see table 2) to some extent reflect this relationship. It could be argued that the different types of mobilization reflect the degree of participation and type of involvement of Mapuches as a whole.

During the period 1973-78, there was no significant mobilization. The changes in the socio-political system created an environment favourable to the expression of a particular historical project which emphasized Mapuches' integration into Chilean society. Underlying this strategy was the assumption of progressive development (i.e. of

the "civilized world"), only possible to achieve through Mapuches' active participation in the national market.

On the other hand, the organizations that were active beyond their support of the regime, did not have an internal structure capable of mobilizing resources. Associated with the above was a severe lack of resources for organizational work, the repressive context and the absence of supportive socio-political networks. Furthermore, groups which challenged the dominant world view were disarticulated. In fact, the definitions these groups developed emphasized survival strategies over confrontational perspectives.

In 1978 Mapuche leaders began to reorganize themselves. Former leaders, who for a long period were silent, challenged the official policies and advanced alternative interpretations of what should be the Mapuches' position in relation to Chilean society. With the support of external resources, the organization grew rapidly. There was broad participation and the organization was able to present resistance to the new land division legislation.

For the leadership, the preservation of communal lands was essential not only for Mapuches' material survival, but for the projection of their identity. The presentational strategy that the organization advanced found broad support. Mobilization emerged as a component of this strategy of resistance, aimed at defending communal property and Mapuche identity. Although the mobilizations of 1978-79 did not stop land division, they did strengthen Mapuche or-

ganizations and initiated a reformulation of mapuche presentational strategies.

By 1984 the political involvement of Ad-Mapu leadership led to the definition of new strategies. Mapuches problems were defined through the lens of the national political struggle, and the solutions visualized were only through the change in the government and the political system. On the other hand, the large network of socio-political organizations was a source of external support that Mapuche leadership was able to use (to a certain point) in developing their own internal capacities.

The Mapuche historical project, although not clearly defined, was based upon the idea of political projection of Mapuche people as an ethnic group. The strategy the organization advanced required mobilization as an instrument of class and ethnic struggle, aimed at changing the socio-political system, to generate the conditions for the development of the historical project.

Since 1984, the continuous splitting of groups within the organization generated an increasing confusion among Mapuche grassroots groups. The different strategies the organizations supported were not clear to the grassroots, particularly in the rural areas. Further, the organizations were engaged in a permanent struggle for legitimacy among themselves and before Chilean socio-political actors.

Although almost all the organizations shared a common set of definitions, they differed in the strategies they used for achieving those objectives. It was not until 1987, with the creation of the

Mapuche unitary coordination, that the different organizations were able to define some common strategies.

Because the political situation was changing rapidly, there was an increasing necessity for coalition building. Mapuche organizations had to secure their political space within the new political arena. The definitions the leadership made were an attempt to deal with that situation. The political projection of Mapuche identity was to be fought within a changing national institutional framework. Mobilization emerged as the result of the interaction of those processes. This strategy was a long run project, which had more roots in the urban sectors than in the rural communities.

There was a change from the period of 1978-83 to that of 1986-88. Initial broad participation decreased, although it becames more militant. Such a response reveals the problems that the strategies advanced by organizations had in their struggle, and how they were perceived by the grassroots. There was a permanent tension between the long-run objectives stated by the organizations and the the short-term demands required by the organizations' grassroots. The long term objectives were far from being achieved, and in the short run the organizations did not have concrete results to show their efficacy and the viability of their project. This related to changes in the alliances and the resources available for the organizations. The priorities established in those alliances determined a particular allocation of resources.

On the other hand, the definitions and strategies elaborated by Mapuche organizations reflected the complex changes operating in the Mapuches' economic base. Increasing land scarcity and the resulting migration, urbanization, and proletarianization presented new problems to be faced. These changes had to be incorporated in a new common strategy. For this, the political projection of the group was essential. It was necessary to go beyond the land division issue. Identity was reinterpreted around an ideological-political community. The strategies elaborated by the organizations attempted to generate a basis for common identification among various Mapuche segments around a hegemonic group: the organization.

The long run viability of the new presentational strategy can only be assessed in the future. However, at the moment these strategies have been unable to generate large grassroots support. This represents multiple challenges for Mapuche organizations. The existence of multiple organizations will continue to be a reality. The need for coordination and definition of common strategies aimed at increasing participation is crucial.

Future Research

The model proposed in this thesis for the explanation of Mapuche mobilization during the period under study was effective. However, other case studies, and particularly comparative studies, would be necessary to test the external validity of this model.

The emergence of mobilization requires a process of internal definitions articulating the organizational readiness and the availability of resources. The organizations involved should have a conceptual framework for interpreting the existing social structure and a specific understanding of their position on it. That includes the groups' definition of their goals, their historical project, and what they have to do to achieve their political program.

Research looking at the relation between self-presentation of the organizations and the identity of Mapuche people is required. Of particular importance is the analysis of possible differences in self presentation strategies between different segments of the Mapuche population, such as urban and rural Mapuche women and youth, and how these strategies can be articulated in the configuration of a common identity.

On the other hand, it is necessary to view the strategies of different segments of Chilean society using the same analytical frame work. The efficacy of Mapuches' strategies can only be fully assessed in conjunction with the state's efforts to impose its own historical project. In this perspective, research and further development in the conceptualization and measurement of resources in different situations is required.

The tension observed between short run and long run objectives calls for future comparative research to find cases where ethnic groups have successfully combined both dimensions in the realization of their historical projects.

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NEWSPAPERS:

<u>El Austral</u> de Temuco

<u>El Mercurio</u> de Santiago

<u>La Epoca</u>

<u>La Tercera de la Hora</u>

Appendix 1

NEWSPAPER CARD FILE

File # [][][][]

Date   / /   Page   Column

Headline: --

Type of event:

        a) Public meeting ( ) b) Public manifestation ( )
        c) Seizure   ( ) d) Violent clash   ( )
        e) Others   ( )

Location   :

Participants : Mapuches ( )   Non-Mapuches ( )
               Number   Number

Duration   : From   / /   to   / /

Specification of the event:

  a) Organization(s) involved--------------------------

  b) specific place: ----------------------------------

  c) reason : ---

  d) consequences: ------------------------------------

  e) ending: --

  f) comments: --

Connections   : Event file # [][][][]   Date   / /

  Reason --

DOCUMENT CARD FILE

                                      File [][][][] ( )

Document Title: ------------------------------------

Organization : ------------------------------------

Date issued   :   / /

Construct   :

 Page(s)   : Paragraph(s) :   Length   :

 Context   : ------------------------------------

 Def/discourse: ------------------------------------

 Key concepts : ------------------------------------

 Related   ------------------------------------
 Concepts: ------------------------------------

 Grammatical   ------------------------------------
 Structure   ------------------------------------

Appendix 3

ORGANIZATIONAL MAP

1978	1979	1981	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987/8

Centros Culturales ———— Ad-Mapu ———— Ad-Mapu ——— Ad-Mapu — Ad-Mapu — Ad-Mapu

Ad-Mapu

Callfulican

Lautaro ni Aillarehue

Asociacion Mapuche Arauco

Crein Folilche

Centros Culturales Mapuches A.G. ———— Centros Culturales Mapuches A.G.

Nehuen Mapu ———— Nehuen Mapu

Consejos Indigenas ———— Junta de Caciques ———— Junta de Caciques

Union Araucana ———— Union Araucana

Sociedad Araucana ———— Sociedad Araucana

TOWARD AN EXPLANATORY MODEL OF MAPUCHES MOBILIZATIONS
UNDER THE CHILEAN MILITARY REGIME: 1973 - 1988

by

ESTANISLAO A. GACITUA MARIO

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AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

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Manhattan, Kansas

1989

This thesis is a study of Mapuche Indian Mobilizations under the Chilean military regime. Mapuche mobilizations can be explained by the interaction of three processes: 1) changes in Chilean socio-political context; 2) changes in the structure and characteristics of Mapuche organizations, and 3) the internal definitions Mapuche organizations elaborate and the presentation strategies they advance.

A historical case study analysis is conducted in order to test the proposed model. Documents issued by Mapuche organizations and newspaper reports of Mapuche events are analyzed in order to determine the mobilizations in the period under study and to elaborate a matrix of Mapuche organizations' discourse. For this, different types of mobilization events and specific concepts are defined.

Four different sub-periods are defined between 1973 and 1988. For each one of them, mobilizations are analyzed by relating the changes in the socio-political system with the organization structures through the internal definitions of Mapuche organizations.

The analysis reveals the existence of three different mobilization peaks: 1979, 1984 and 1987. Each corresponds to different internal definitions and presentational strategies advanced by Mapuche organizations, resulting in different types of mobilization.